

Mitch Snyder: rebuilding from the rubble of Reaganism.

HUD versus the huddled masses

By Jim Naureckas

WASHINGTON

To complete its three-part series on the ongoing revelations of scandal at the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) under Reagan appointee Samuel Pierce. In These Times talked to Mitch Snyder, one of the founders of the Community for Creative Non-Violence (CCNV), a Washington, D.C.-based advocacy group for housing and the homeless.

Since the early '70s, Snyder has been an often-lonely voice supporting the right to have a decent place to live. He correctly predicted that the massive budget cuts of the Reagan era would lead to the current housing crisis. CCNV has effectively used civil disobedience and non-traditional protests to call attention to the massive increase in the numbers of people living on the streets, which Snyder

sees as the logical consequence of the government's failure to provide affordable housing.

CCNV is now part of a coalition planning what promises to be the largest housing protest ever, on October 7 at the Capitol in Washington. In These Times talked to Snyder about the march, about the HUD scandal and about the prospects for change under Jack Kemp, Bush's housing secretary. The interview took place at CCNV's Washington shelter, one of the largest and best-equipped in the country. But Snyder is quick to point out, "This shelter is not an alternative to affordable housing and we will never let it become one."

Were you surprised by the revelations of corruption at HUD?

No, as a matter of fact, we found an almost total absence of integrity in virtually every department we encountered under the Reagan administration. They were essentially a group of amoral people who felt they had the right to do anything they wanted, that they were exempted from the normal laws that govern most folks.

It was somewhat surprising that the media had been so lazy and uninterested that for eight years they managed to ignore what was going on. In fact, it wasn't the media that surfaced it. Some of us are convinced that it was surfaced by this administration because it was to their political advantage. It's the administration that began to leak this and focus attention on what has been done.

How would that help the Bush administration?

It focuses on a previous administration. Reagan is gone; he's history, and there's no loyalty in politics. Bush doesn't like Reagan; that's fairly common knowledge at this point. Nobody likes Pierce. And this administration—Kemp, Bush—understands that they're going to be under mounting pressure to put money back into housing programs. The best defense is to say, "Look, this agency is so mismanaged and so corrupt and so riddled with problems that nobody in their right mind would seriously suggest putting large sums of money back into it. So give us another year or two to straighten it out and we'll talk about it then."

It may be an incredibly clever response—though I tend to think that people in government, even sharp folks like Jack, are never quite that clever—to what is going to be a tremendous amount of pressure applied to the administration and to Congress to put back the 80 percent of the housing budget they eliminated.

What is your assessment of Jack Kemp?

He's very personable, a good-looking fellow, a good politician, very bright. I'm sure he's not going to just sit on top of the kind of scandalous mismanagement and fraud that took place under Pierce.

But Kemp's record on housing and homelessness over the past 18 years is atrocious. He's voted against every decent bill that's come down the pike. He was essentially handpicked by the Heritage Foundation to be the secretary of HUD because they felt he would do the best job when it came to eliminating the agency as a viable tool for creating affordable housing.

He says good things, and he's convinced a lot of people he's sincere. But the first Bush budget contained less money for housing than the last Reagan budget, and I don't hear Jack talking about putting massive sums of money back into housing programs. I hear him talking about the private sector, which is nonsensical. We've given the private sector the burden of affordable housing over the last eight years, and we've got a shortfall now of 4 million units. Congress has been told that there's going to be 19 million people on the street in 15 years if they don't do anything any different than they're doing now.

Did you ever deal with Pierce?

Only from a distance. He chose not to deal with us. We sued him and there were a number of demonstrations at his office, but I never had the pleasure of meeting the fellow.

Was there a sharp break between his era and the Carter housing program?

Sure. I think it has to be said in all honesty that Carter started cutting housing programs. But even with the cuts that he instituted, when he left there was still \$32 billion a year being authorized. Now we're down to less than \$8 billion. Bush has proposed bringing us down to close to \$6 billion. The real devastation occurred during the last eight years, under Pierce and under Reagan.

Given Reagan's hostility toward housing programs, would the situation have been any better if there had been no fraud under Pierce?

There would have been a bit more money available. Depending on whose figures you look at, it appears that they may have clipped as much as \$6 billion to \$8 billion over eight years through mismanagement or fraud. That's a lot of money. It's not going to buy an end to the housing crisis, but it sure as hell wouldn't have hurt to have the \$400,000 that went into James Watt's pocket go into the renovation of some of those buildings that are making downtown Detroit and the South Bronx look like Dresden after the war.

What would a serious housing program look like?

It would have enough money to create safe, decent, affordable housing for every citizen in the country. It would require a number of different approaches. A lot has been learned in the last 10 or 15 years about how you do it cost-effectively and responsibly and humanely. You don't stack people like cordwood, you don't build big projects that concentrate the kind of problems that lower-income people have. You also provide assistance for first-time homebuyers. And for people who can't own their own homes you approximate home ownership in every way possible, because the more stake people have in their housing the more respect they're going to have for it.

This will cost less than I think would have been projected 10 or 15 years ago, because people have learned a lot and there are some creative, innovative examples. It

INSIDE STORY

would mean, initially, putting back \$25 billion a year that's been cut out of the budget. That's the starting point.

How do you react to people like Kemp who say that because of the deficit we'll have to solve the housing crisis without spending any more money?

I don't accept that. They can get the money the same place they got the \$166 billion to bail out the savings and loans. They're going to have to spend \$50 billion to \$100 billion to clean up the nuclear waste dumps. They're going to find the money for that and for the S&Ls, and we want them to find the money to bail out the American people.

You're helping to organize the Housing Now march on Washington on October 7. How big is that march going to be?

There's somewhere around 100 national organizations that are very involved, and there's somewhere around 150 or 200 steering committees and local and regional taskforces and coalitions that have come together to organize and mobilize for this. We expect half a million people, probably.

What's the focus of the march?

Telling Congress that it can no longer hide behind the deficit because if it's got money for the S&Ls, it's going to have to have money for us. Put back the \$25 billion that it cut. That's the message, that's the focus, that's the demand.

Do you think it's feasible to reverse the direction of nine years of HUD policy?

Sure. The pendulum is sitting up there waiting to swing in the other direction. The question is, can people in America still remember that this is a democracy? The administration has been able to get away with what it's gotten away with not because they came in like thieves in the night and stole the agenda, but because we gave it away. We just kind of sat back, and people came forward and filled the vacuum. Whatever's been done can be undone, and whatever's been undone can be done. But it's going to take a pretty massive amount of effort and energy.

Jim Naureckas is the managing editor of the Council on Hemispheric Affairs' Washington Report on the Hemisphere. For more information on the October 7 march, write to Housing Now, 425 Second St. NW, Washington, DC 20001.

CONTENTS

Inside Story: Mitch Snyder's Pierce-ing criticisms of HUD	2
The Bush presidency—politics without policy	3
In Short	4
Envisioning a new day for labor	6
Zaire's Mobutu—Washington's favorite kleptocrat	8
Soviet economic conversion—the market for plowshares	11
New York's mayoral morass	12
Editorials	14
Letters Sylvia	15
Viewpoint: Remembering Michael Harrington	16
Ashes & Diamonds by Alexander Cockburn	17
Life in the U.S.: Madison Avenue's manifest destiny	18
In Print: The Philippines—high tide for neocolonialism	20
Classifieds Life in Hell	23
Filmmaker Nettie Wild's wild Philippine saga	24

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By John B. Judis

KENNEBUNKPORT, MAINE

S EVEN MONTHS INTO HIS PRESIDENCY, AS HE vacations in Maine, George Bush is at high tide. He is popular with the public and has largely appeased his opponents on the right while neutralizing those on the left. Bush has also been lucky. He has had only one crisis, brought about by the Shi'ite murder of U.S. Lt. Col. William Higgins in Lebanon. But even that explosive episode was partially defused by a new Iranian president who wants to improve relations with the U.S.

The final test of Bush's presidency will not be his popularity, however, but his ability to cure, or at least alleviate, the nation's lingering ailments: the decline of American industry, the growing polarization between whites and blacks, the Third World debt crisis and the Cold War military economy. In these areas, Bush has done much better than his predecessor, but perhaps not good enough to make a significant difference.

Full-court press: Bush's political strategy has had little relation to his actual policies. In public, he has focused primarily on moral and social issues of flag, family and drugs. Bush has tried to maintain his popular majority and keep potential opponents on both the right and left at bay so that he can pursue an essentially centrist strategy on economic and foreign policy issues. His political statements have been consistent with his bitter fall campaign against Democratic nominee Michael Dukakis. But many of his policies have not differed significantly from those that Dukakis would have pushed.

Bush has used Supreme Court decisions to position himself politically. When the court ruled on June 21 that a protestor who burned the American flag could not be prosecuted, Bush immediately called for a constitutional amendment that would prohibit "desecration" of the flag. The move put liberals on the defensive. When Democrats opposed amending the Bill of Rights, Bush had Vice President Dan Quayle accuse them of buckling in to the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU). The president's position on the flag was despicable but highly popular.

When the Supreme Court, ruling in four cases this spring, restricted the use of affirmative action to remedy racial and sexual discrimination, Bush refused to comment on the court rulings—a position consistent (whatever the merit of the decisions) with Bush's covert appeal in the 1988 election to white racist sentiments. At the same time, he and Quayle tried to mollify blacks by enthusiastically endorsing racial equality before major civil rights conventions. "Your problems are my problems," Bush told the Urban League this month.

Bush has been skillful at keeping the right wing in his corner. He has listened carefully to right-wing protests over his appointments to subcabinet positions, while ignoring complaints about major appointments, like that of Louis Sullivan to be secretary of health and human services.

Bush's secretary of state, James Baker, whom the right denounced as a "pragmatist" during the Reagan years, angered conservatives—Sen. Jesse Helms (R-NC) in particular—by appointing Henry Kissinger protégé Lawrence Eagleburger as his deputy. But Baker won over conservatives by choosing a former Helms aide, Richard McCormick,



Bush is failing to rise to the new era of decline

over a former Kissinger aide, Robert Hormats, for the less important position of undersecretary for economic affairs.

The result is that conservatives in Washington have been more supportive of Bush than they were of Reagan. They treat him as one of their own. They blame his deviations from conservative doctrine on what one right-wing fundraising appeal called "the combined forces of the liberals in the Congress or the even more insidious ones in the media."

Rejecting Reagan doctrine: Conservative support has been all the more remarkable because, in his more substantive policies as well as in his major appointments, Bush has rejected right-wing doctrine. In his policies, Bush has consistently sought compromise and conciliation among competing interests—a strategy Dukakis would likely have also pursued.

Bush and Baker have abandoned the Reagan doctrine of backing every ragtag movement dedicated to overthrowing a communist regime. One of Baker's first actions was to reach an agreement with Democrats in Congress that kept humanitarian funding for the Nicaraguan contras, but ruled out military support. Bush and Baker's agreement sealed the contras' demise. The president reacted with relative equanimity ("We are generally supportive") to the early August decision at the Central American summit in Tela, Honduras, to urge the disbanding of the contras by December 5.

Bush's most important domestic initiatives—his \$166 billion savings-and-loan bailout and his clean-air proposal—called for stronger government regulation of business. Liberals were justifiably dissatisfied with both these proposals. (Bush's clean-air proposal, for example, contains a provision allowing firms to buy and sell permits for higher pollution emissions.) But conservatives and business lobbyists were equally miffed. Bush also accepted congressional reductions in the Strategic Defense Initiative ("Star Wars"), the pet anti-Soviet program of Reagan and the conservatives.

But the president's centrist policies have not necessarily been substantively effective. One of the biggest questions surrounds the Brady plan, Treasury Secretary Nicholas Brady's scheme for reducing Third World debt, which is, perhaps, the Bush administration's most important policy initiative to date.

The plan calls for banks to alleviate the insolvency that has stifled the economies of Mexico, Peru, Brazil and the Philippines by reaching nation-by-nation agreements that would reduce interest rates on the debt or reduce the debt itself. In exchange for writing off part of their loans, the banks would have the remaining debt payments guaranteed by the World Bank and International Monetary Fund.

Brady's plan was an important departure from Reagan Treasury Secretary James Baker's debt measure. The Baker plan would not have reduced Third World debt but increased it through new loans by U.S. banks. This would have simply kept the debt spiral going. The Baker plan reflected the banks' views, but Brady's plan has annoyed the banks, which have been unwilling to write off loans, even though these loans sell on the open market for only 40 percent of their value.

The question is whether Brady and Bush can make good on their proposal in the face of bank opposition. In the deal being worked out with Mexico, banks that refuse to reduce the principal or interest on old loans are still given the option of making new loans to Mexico. This leaves the door open for debts to continue accumulating.

According to Shafiqul Islam, a senior fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations in New York, even if one takes Brady's most optimistic estimates—that 80 percent of the banks will opt for debt or interest reduction—then Mexico's annual interest charges will drop only \$1.5 billion from \$9 billion, and interest payments will still eat up 20 percent of Mexico's export earnings. Mexico will still be on the treadmill, only the treadmill will be running slightly slower. And from

the American perspective, Mexico will be in no better position than before to import American goods.

Other Bush measures simply do not go far enough. In his arms control proposals, Bush has failed to grasp that the U.S. as well as the Soviet Union has an economic interest in reducing military spending. Bush's proposal for reducing conventional arms in

WASHINGTON

Europe seems entirely directed at eliminating Soviet advantages.

Read my lips: In one important area, Bush's politics have hamstrung his policy. Bush campaigned on a promise not to raise taxes, and he also won business support through a pledge to reduce capital gains taxes. Now Bush finds himself without the revenue to undertake any significant new programs in education or crime prevention. Bush and his drug czar William Bennett are already scrambling for funds to make Bennett's drug program, to be announced September 5, more than cosmetic.

Bush's ideological dilemma was dramatized during a public television series on education, the climax of which was an interview with the president. Bush was at ease extolling Minnesota's "choice" program, which allows students to attend whatever public school they choose, but he became befuddled when the program's host asked him whether he didn't think his anti-tax campaign was jeopardizing attempts by state governors to raise new money for education through taxes. He couldn't comment on state matters, Bush said.

Bush's tax position not only discourages new government programs; it is also a green light to the corporate lobbyists and speculators who ran amok during Reagan's presidency. According to a *Wall Street Journal* report, two dozen business lobbyists, inspired by Bush's push to cut capital gains taxes, have been meeting once a month at a Washington firm to discuss what they call "deforming the tax code."

Bush's tax position clearly recalls that of Reagan rather than Dukakis. And if Bush persists, he may enjoy Reagan's popularity, but he will also fail as Reagan did to stem the rot that is eating away at the country's cities and industries.

INSHORT

By Miles Harvey

A contra beachhead in our own front yard?

Floridians are worried that the next contra offensive will be directed at Miami. This month the presidents of five Central American nations sent an eviction notice to the estimated 50,000 to 60,000 Nicaraguan rebels and their families based in Honduras. The presidents' plan calls for the contras to be disbanded by December 5. But where will they disband to? The Miami area, home to an estimated 100,000 to 150,000 Nicaraguans—50,000 of them having arrived in the past year—seems like a natural site for a new contra base camp. And with economic troubles, ethnic tensions and criminal activity already at dangerous levels, area officials are concerned. As Robert Bernal, Metro-Dade County federal coordinator, told *USA Today*: "Just picture a young man who has done nothing but fight for the last four, five or six years. He can acquire arms easily here. It would make me nervous to have a number of contras in the streets."

Born to kill

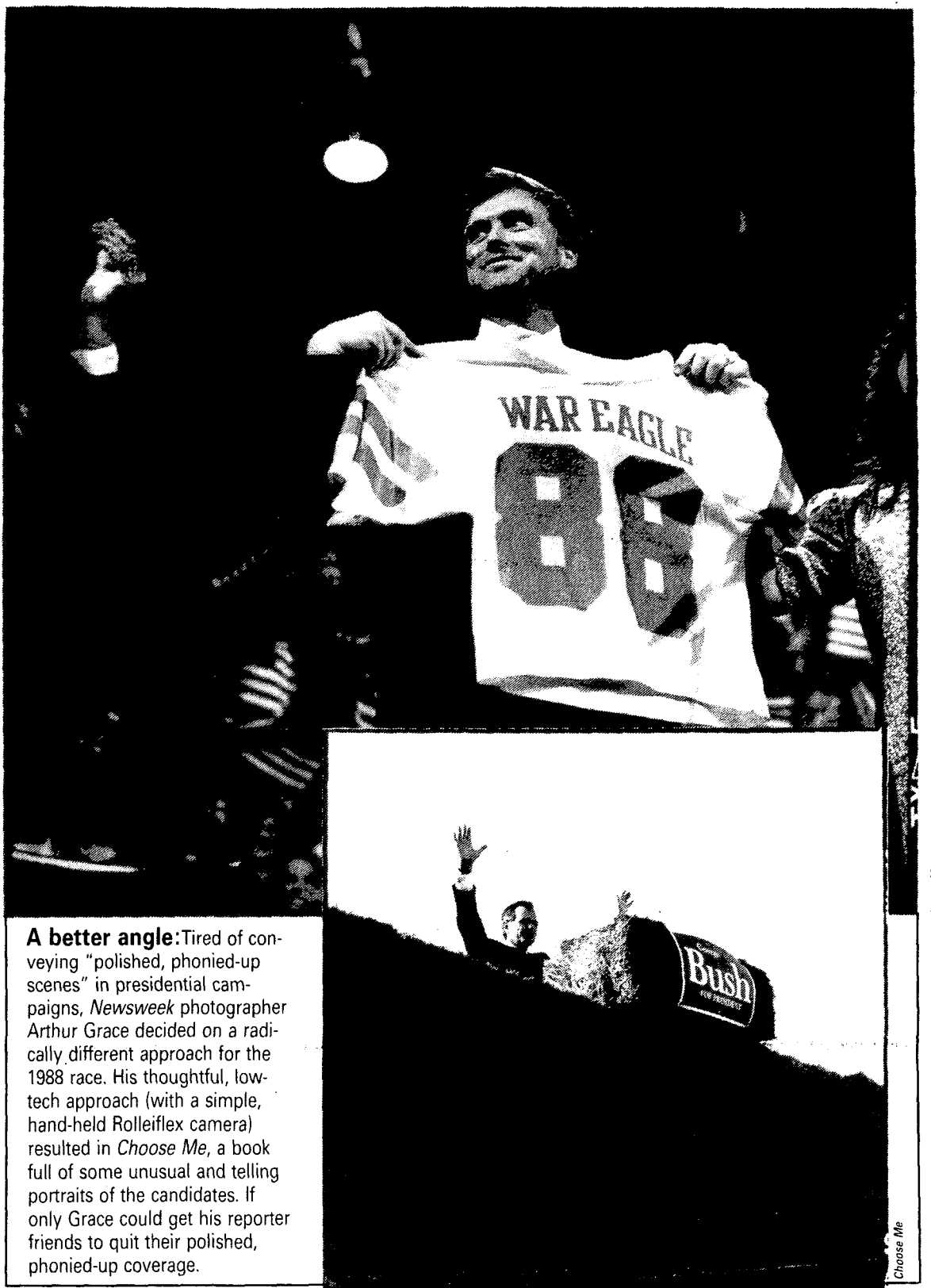
Peace does not come easily to the contras, even when it is thrust upon them. When Congress passed a "non-lethal" aid package for the contras back in April, President Bush and Secretary of State James Baker pledged that the guerrillas would refrain from military activity or human rights violations. But Witness for Peace, an anti-war group that monitors the situation in Nicaragua, has documented 32 contra attacks since Congress passed the latest contra aid package. The attacks left 17 civilians dead, nine wounded and 58 kidnapped. No wonder Miami residents are worried.

Only qualified tired, poor, huddled masses need apply

Even if Washington seems less than excited about giving its hired hands a home, statistics show that Nicaraguans are 18 times more likely to be granted political asylum in America than those fleeing neighboring El Salvador. This information comes from a report released this summer by the human rights group Helsinki Watch, which charges that INS officials and immigration judges demonstrate a broad bias against granting political asylum to refugees from countries with governments friendly to the U.S. The 106-page report, "Detained, Denied, Deported: Asylum Seekers in the United States," cites statistics showing that in fiscal year 1988 the political-asylum approval rate was 3 percent for Salvadorans and 5 percent for Guatemalans. For Nicaraguans it was 53 percent. Asylum is supposed to be granted to refugees who can prove that they face persecution at home because of their political beliefs. But the report documents the story of a Salvadoran woman who was gang-raped in a politically motivated attack—and whose brother, common-law husband and neighbors were murdered—yet was refused asylum. The report accuses the U.S. government of widespread violations of U.S. law and international human rights agreements in its immigration policy.

Video violence

What do young Israelis do to kick back and relax these days? A growing number of them, reports Gordon Barthos in the *Toronto Star*, are getting their kicks from a new video game called "Intifadah." Players assume the role of an Israeli soldier, and the game begins with a set of military orders: "You can use the wooden club that you were issued on any rioter. Use tear gas any time you feel it is needed. You are authorized to shoot any rioter with rubber bullets. Shoot plastic or rubber bullets at a rioter who throws Molotov cocktails. You are NOT allowed to use live ammunition under any circumstances." The "live ammunition" is available to players—but those who use it against Palestinian figures on the screen get a "performance report" at the end of the game that reads: "You have gone wild. Public opinion index: 0. Your inefficiency in suppressing the violence is appalling.... The government lost the elections, mostly as a result of your inaction." Players who use none of their weapons, on the other hand, are quickly disposed of by rock-throwing, Molotov-hurling Arabs. "You are DEAD," reads the screen. "You died of burns covering 95 percent of your body. You are just another victim of Arab terrorism." Barthos reports that some versions of the game reward a high score with a more right-wing defense minister, with the highest score installing ultraright leader Meir Kahane. What next? It's anyone's guess. Perhaps a video game called "Snatch a Moslem Cleric."



A better angle: Tired of conveying "polished, phoned-up scenes" in presidential campaigns, *Newsweek* photographer Arthur Grace decided on a radically different approach for the 1988 race. His thoughtful, low-tech approach (with a simple, hand-held Rolleiflex camera) resulted in *Choose Me*, a book full of some unusual and telling portraits of the candidates. If only Grace could get his reporter friends to quit their polished, phoned-up coverage.

Association for Union Democracy turns 20

For two decades Herman Benson nurtured the Association for Union Democracy (AUD), giving hope to embattled union members fighting for their rights and discomfort to both autocrats and crooks within the labor movement. As part of the group's 20th anniversary celebration this year, Benson turned over directorship to Susan Jennik, but he remains active.

"Ideologically, I got started as a Marxist who believed that the working class was the social force that would lead society to fuller and freer democracy," Benson says. "But as I become involved in the labor movement, I thought, 'If this working class can't sustain democracy in its own institutions, how can it be the bearer of democracy for society?'"

When Painters union reformers Dow Wilson and Lloyd Green were murdered in 1966, Benson and longtime Socialist Party leader Nor-

man Thomas set up a union democracy committee in their honor that two years later became the AUD. The Brooklyn-based non-profit group is dedicated to furthering democracy in the American labor movement.

"Union democracy is in far greater shape today than it was 20 years ago," Benson insists, as a result of the Landrum-Griffin labor law reform (that most unions opposed) and the efforts of union members and some lower-level officers to use the law. "The atmosphere is different. [Steelworker challenger] Ed Sadlowski put it this way: 'Before, if you opened your mouth in the Steelworkers union, they kicked you downstairs. Now they don't. But on every important issue that's come before the courts on union democracy, the official union movement has been on the wrong side.'"

Over the years, the Mineworkers union has shown the most improvement, the building trades the greatest decline in union democracy, Benson says. Despite occasional problems, he ranks the Musicians; Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers; the Teachers and the United Auto Work-

ers among the more democratic unions.

Benson believes that union democracy, like general political democracy, faces a built-in problem: elected representatives have a dual interest, representing their constituency and their own personal interests. The conflict is exacerbated in unions "because there's such a vast difference in the mode of life between officials and members," Benson said.

"The greatest unfinished task of the labor movement in relation to union democracy is its total, complete, utter inability and unwillingness to confront infiltration of important unions [such as the Teamsters, Laborers, East Coast Longshoremens and some construction trades] by racketeers," he says.

But Benson also thinks Landrum-Griffin needs to be strengthened so that union members with complaints about elections can go directly to court and not have to rely on the U.S. secretary of labor to file challenges. But unions should also have to inform members regularly of their democratic rights, and mem-

bers need ways to enforce their rights without the prohibitive, costly step of hiring a lawyer.

The American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) has a good policy on union democracy but rarely carries it out. Benson said, partly because influential lawyers saw union democracy issues as anti-labor. But the ACLU has become more active in defense of union democracy and

worker rights in recent years. Also, the Labor Education and Research Project, which publishes the newsletter *Labor Notes*, frequently supports democratic insurgents in unions such as the Teamsters for a Democratic Union and the recent upset slate of officers in the Mail Handlers. More than 1,000 union members gathered in Detroit in May for a conference marking the proj-

ect's 10th anniversary. *Labor Notes* promotes democracy incidentally to its main goal of a more militant labor movement.

"The difference between us and *Labor Notes* is that AUD will defend the rights of anybody from right to left against any official from left to right," Benson says, "because we believe union democracy transcends politics."
—David Moberg

Mexico's new politics

MEXICO CITY—The July election in Mexico's state of Michoacan wasn't just a case of fraud-as-usual.

Not that the ruling Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) didn't resort to fraud—probably stealing the election. As one opposition poll watcher noted, "It's incredible how many voters have been dead for years. They should've just put the polling place in the cemetery!" In another polling place where ruling party officials were more imaginative, their poll watcher was reportedly sent a box of fried chicken with 100 extra ballots inside. The news-weekly *Proceso* dubbed the recipe "chicken with ballot stuffing."

As *In These Times* went to press, opposition supporters were occupying 50 town halls in Michoacan to protest the alleged improprieties. But fraud is old hat for the PRI. What was new in Michoacan's state legislature vote was that the governing PRI faced a resurgent center-left opposition. The Michoacan vote was the first for the Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD), led by Cuauhtemoc Cardenas, official runner-up in the 1988 presidential election. In Michoacan, despite an officially declared loss to the PRI, the new party held onto most of the support Cardenas won last year. In state elections in Oaxaca this month, the PRD established itself as a strong second electoral force.

Although they also displayed the opposition's organizational weaknesses, the elections reflected the new forces at work in Mexican politics. In both the Cardenistas gained momentum from the new rebelliousness and protest movements that surged after the presidential vote, which the PRI is widely believed to have stolen.

The PRD was formed in the April merger between centrists who left the PRI with Cardenas last year and the small Mexican Socialist Party (PMS), a fusion of the Communists and other left groups. Many individuals from three center-left parties that backed Cardenas in 1988 also joined, though the parties themselves did not.

The Cardenistas fiercely oppose the ruling party's export-at-all-costs response to Mexico's crushing foreign debt. The PRI's policy has meant slashing wages, employment and social programs. The PRD's discourse echoes that of Cardenas' father, Lazaro Cardenas, who as president in the '30s redistributed

land and nationalized oil firms. But while long on populist rhetoric, their program remains short on specifics.

The July 2 vote in Michoacan, Cardenas' home state, was a key test for his party. He served as governor of the southwestern state from 1980 to 1986. Last year the official returns gave him the state by a margin of almost 2-to-1. Would the PRD repeat his performance?

The PRI's governor, backed by just-inaugurated President Carlos Salinas de Gortari, tried to win by charm instead of repression. Fearing another Cardenista victory, Salinas' generally austerity-minded government lavished funds on the state. After years of inaction, ministries suddenly awarded loans, paved roads, equipped health centers and resolved land disputes.

The ruling party also counted on the PRD's organizational difficulties to work in its favor. Before the July 2 vote, the Cardenistas were unable to establish municipal or state structures. Their two Michoacan leaders spent as much time fighting each other as the PRI. In addition, the center-left parties who had refused to join the PRD were running candidates against it, threatening to split the opposition vote. And, of course, the PRI fell back on large-scale fraud, widely documented in the Mexican press.

The official results showed a narrow 45 percent to 40 percent PRI victory. Yet as veteran PRI member Marco Antonio Aguilar, former mayor of the state capital, Morelia, told the Mexican press, "Even the PRI's own members don't believe those results." Though the PRD managed to monitor only four-fifths of the polling places, it reported a clear 49 percent to 33 percent edge over the PRI.

While the PRD's apparent victory was being stolen in Michoacan, the conservative opposition, the National Action Party (PAN), was winning—officially—in the Mexican state of Baja California.

As Lorenzo Meyer, a leading Mexican political scientist, wrote in *Excelsior*, "In Michoacan, the president and his party have shown their determination to impose their results over the people's will. Salinas de Gortari's differential treatment of the PAN in Baja California and the PRD in Michoacan reflects the distinction between useful, limited opposition and the real enemy."

If Michoacan showed the PRD could hold its own in its natural constituency, the August 6 election in Oaxaca displayed the consolidation of its support in a state where oppos-

ition parties were traditionally weak.

With rugged green mountains and vast social inequalities, the far southern state resembles the Central American countries farther south. Oaxaca is also Mexico's poorest state, where even the state government cannot afford much patronage. Instead, it has a reputation for bossism, broken promises and violence.

These factors stimulated growing peasant, student and union movements there in the '70s and '80s. Yet the left's electoral support remained stagnant at 3 percent. Last year, however, it scored a breakthrough when Cardenas received 28 percent of the official vote. His supporters claimed twice that share.

During the 1989 campaign, the center-left opposition's vitality contrasted with the Oaxaca PRI's low morale. The PRI's final rally August 1 drew just 600 listless, bused-in peasants. Asked why she had come, one replied, "I don't know. They told me to." The PRD rally the next day attracted an enthusiastic 1,500.

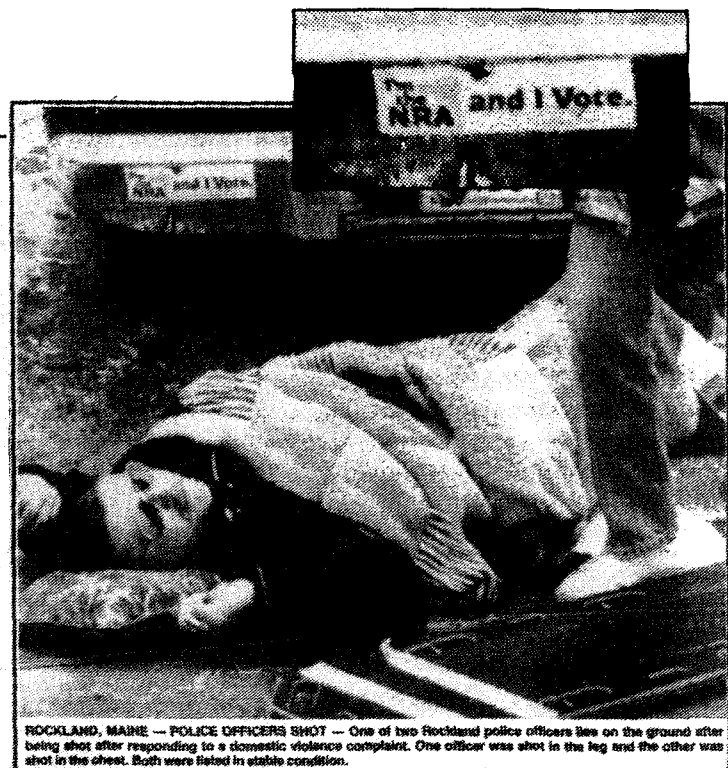
Of course, Oaxaca's Cardenistas had their own problems. While the Michoacan PRD's backbone came from PRI defectors, Oaxaca's came from the PMS. This alignment resulted in tensions between former Communists and more conservative Cardenistas. And though the PRD was present in 65 towns—twice as many as the PMS in 1986—it did not have the organization to field candidates in 100 others.

Although official results had not been declared at press time, the PRD claimed 32 towns, against eight won by the PMS three years ago. Eloi Vasquez, state PRD leader, estimates the Cardenista vote at 27 percent, with roughly 5 percent for each of the other three center-left parties. "We weren't able to maintain the full force of the Cardenista Front from last year, but we established a definite lead over the other parties," he says. "In Oaxaca, we're going to be the second electoral force."

In the eight other state elections scheduled before the year's end the PRD faces more of the same—strong second-place finishes but defeat by fair means or foul. In one of those states, Sinaloa, a study published in July by political scientist Cuauhtemoc Rivera showed that someone had already padded the voter rolls by 32 percent, opening the door to fraud.

But in the long run, the growth of a credible left alternative may mean that the ruling party is called to account—either at the polls or in the streets.

—Craig Charney



ROCKLAND, MAINE — POLICE OFFICERS SHOT — One of two Rockland police officers lies on the ground after being shot after responding to a domestic violence complaint. One officer was shot in the leg and the other was shot in the chest. Both were listed in stable condition.

Sign of the times, part I

The above photograph appeared in *Police Times*, a publication of the American Federation of Police. The federation once gave an award to an Oak Park, Ill., gas station owner for openly ignoring that city's prohibition on handguns. Apparently, *Police Times* editors missed the bumper sticker on the car behind the wounded officer—or at least its irony.

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National Council on the Arts



Dear _____

You may be aware that on March 18, 1989 the provisions of the Drug-Free Workplace Act of 1988 became effective. This Act requires applicants for federal assistance to certify that they will provide a drug-free workplace by taking the steps outlined in the attached certification form -- before they can receive federal assistance. These requirements also appear in Section 5153 of the Drug-Free Workplace Act.

Your application package submitted to the Arts Endowment requesting support through the VISUAL ARTS Program has been assigned application number 89-013170 and will be considered by the National Council on the Arts at its August 1989 meeting. However, because of the new law, the enclosed certification form must be signed and returned for your application package to be complete.

Please sign the certification form and, using the enclosed, pre-addressed envelope, return it to the Arts Endowment's Grants Office on or before August 20, 1989. Remember, your application package will be incomplete and the Endowment will be unable to notify you as to the final outcome regarding your application until the Grants Office receives your certification.

If you have any further questions about the requirements of the Drug-Free Workplace Act, please contact the Endowment's General Counsel at (202) 682-5418.

Sincerely,

Laurence M. Baden
Laurence M. Baden
Grants Officer

Enclosure

Sign of the times, part II

It's the era of art for sobriety's sake. Or maybe art for demagoguery's sake. Individuals who receive National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) grants are now required, under the Drug-Free Workplace Act of 1988, to vow that they "will not engage in the unlawful manufacture, distribution, dispensation, possession or use of a controlled substance in conducting any activity with the grant." Congress doesn't want any mind-altering experiences to get in the way of the creative process—a concept that, in the words of the great drug-using artist Lewis Carroll, gets "curiouser and curiouser" the more you think about it. For instance, *In These Times* wondered, what if another great drug-using artist, jazz singer Billie Holiday, were alive today and applied for a grant? Would the NEA just say no? A government official, who requested anonymity, explained that if Holiday were to receive a "non-project fellowship grant" for her general artistry, she'd have to agree to not be a heroin addict during the duration of the grant. If, however, she were to receive a grant for a specific project, she would only have to guarantee a "drug-free workplace" while working on that project and could shoot up as much as she liked in her free time. The official conceded, however, that in practice it would be somewhat difficult to determine where the artist stopped and the heroin addict began.

By David Moberg

Envisioning a new day for the labor movement

FROM THE STREETS OF NEW YORK AND MIAMI to the hill towns of southwestern Virginia and the outskirts of Nashville, a string of recent conflicts make an unmistakable point: the U.S. system for regulating relations between labor and management has completely broken down.

America is seeing a return to pre-New Deal anti-unionism. New Deal rules for private collective bargaining over disputes initially made it government policy to encourage unions as a way of regulating industrial chaos, boosting the Depression economy by raising wages and democratizing industry. But almost from the outset, court decisions and Capitol Hill legislation reversed the tilt toward unionism. Over the years, employer rights and power grew at the expense of workers.

Special circumstances concealed the shift: World War II policy favored unions, and established unions wielded a great amount of economic power during the postwar boom, when much unionized American industry was shielded from competition. But in an increasingly global economy, with international competition and ease of capital flight, union economic power has faded over the past two decades.

The diversified megacorporation today is less vulnerable to union economic strike leverage—especially if it uses highly automated technology, which allows operations to continue in the short run with a minimum number of substitute workers. Employers have also found that sophisticated labor-relations techniques and aggressive anti-union tactics can reduce the chance of unionization. Increasingly complacent and bureaucratic, unions themselves have become less of a broad social movement and more service organizations for their narrow membership, which often feels little involvement in unionism as a cause.

Shafted: Now some unions are trying to catch up with the times, but the system is stacked against them. Nowhere is that more evident than in the United Mine Workers (UMW) strike at Pittston Coal. The National Labor Relations Board formally cited Pittston for 23 instances of unlawful conduct in its antagonistic bargaining with the coal miners. But as a recent staff report of the House labor-management relations subcommittee observed, "Not a single court or federal agency has taken steps to remedy unfair labor practice [that] began in early 1988."

On the other hand, the miners, who have largely conducted a non-violent struggle of civil resistance, have been severely constrained under state and federal injunctions and subjected to fines that now amount to at least many billions of dollars, possibly "quadrillions," according to the union. State police have arrested and harassed strikers, doing everything possible to keep Pittston's coal trucks rolling. A few years ago, when Pittston was found negligently responsible for the death of seven miners, it was fined a paltry \$47,500. Clearly there's no balancing of labor and management powers, let alone a pro-union social policy.

Richard Trumka, the creatively militant and principled young president of the UMW, hasn't been intimidated by the threat to the union. And in their wildcat strikes earlier in the summer, other miners demonstrated their willingness to conduct a national strike

to support Pittston miners. Pittston miners have the overwhelming support not only of their own communities but also of the vast majority of Virginia voters, who soon will choose a replacement for the anti-miner Democratic Gov. Gerald Baliles. The UMW is now bringing in unionists, clergy, community organizers and other sympathizers from around the country to join the sit-ins at Pittston in an explicit effort to recreate a social justice movement like civil rights

UNIONS

crusades of the '60s. They have spread their strike to the courts, stockholder meetings and board of directors as well as into the broader community.

"We're going to bring people from all over the country into southwestern Virginia to show how labor law has failed, to show how the courts work to hurt workers and how government acts as a tool of the company," Trumka, a coal miner and labor lawyer, said in a recent interview. "When they keep different struggles separate, they can say, 'This is just one blip,' but if you look at all these fights together, people will see how unfair the system is."

More than a communication breakdown: The strike by the Communications Workers (CWA) and Electrical Workers (IBEW) against several of the regional Bell telephone companies highlights another failure of the U.S. labor-relations system. Unions have relied on contractually provided private health insurance for their members. Even though labor has always pushed for a national health system, one effect of those private bargains has been to undercut the political force for national health care. Now that system is failing—costing too much, covering too few. Even though they are rich and facing limited competition (see *In These Times*, May 24), several regional Bells are trying to shift the cost of health insurance onto workers. At Nynex in New York, the union proposed an alternative way to reduce costs, but the company—which has already shifted health costs onto its non-union employees—is adamant about the principle.

The union is insisting—and earlier got AT&T to agree in its contract settlement—that the health cost and care problems are national and require a national, systematic solution.

The Pittston strike, not so incidentally, was also provoked by the company's refusal to continue contributing to health and pension funds that were established for the industry years ago. Miners, whose places of employment frequently change, recognized early the need for a comprehensive system of health care.

And at the other end of that same health care crisis, hospital workers from Local 1199 in New York City have conducted several short strikes to pressure the League of Voluntary Hospitals—the negotiating arm of the city's private, non-profit hospitals—to raise wages and improve training along the lines of the already-negotiated Catholic hospitals

contract. In community hearings, ads and demonstrations, they have made their strike a crusade "to save the health care system." The hospitals can't recruit or retain qualified personnel if their workers aren't paid or trained decently, the union argues.

In all these strikes, the union leaders worked long and hard to educate members and build a sense of collective urgency. Starting a year and a half ago, CWA trained "mobilization coordinators" who distributed educational materials and organized small workplace demonstrations—everyone wearing red one day or releasing balloons at work or tapping pencils in unison. The UMW educated and trained Pittston miners and their families for non-violent resistance and built tremendous community support for more than a year. Local 1199 took its issues to both members and public, then gradually escalated militancy to overcome any lingering misgivings from a poorly handled strike three years ago.

To varying degrees, however, these workers face employers who have other resources to fight a strike—highly automated telephone switching equipment, big reserves of non-striking workers (supervisory personnel at the Bells and Pittston and non-striking nurses and doctors at the hospitals) and other conglomerate profit centers (as in Pittston's case). They all face employers who can afford to pay what the workers want but who simply figure they can play hardball and beat those workers.

The Eastern front: Nobody plays harder ball, of course, than Frank Lorenzo, head of Texas Air and Eastern Airlines. Lorenzo took refuge in bankruptcy court soon after the Machinists, supported by the pilots and flight attendants, struck last spring. The unions have been prepared to take part in a deal to buy Eastern and get rid of Lorenzo, but they've been stymied. Texas Air limps along; Continental barely broke even in a recent

It's time for a change. The U.S. system for regulating labor-management relations has broken down.

quarter when other airlines raked in profits and Eastern is losing heavily. Lorenzo has been selling off assets, promoting money-losing low fares and trying to recruit scabs to operate a scaled-down Eastern.

Initially the unions scored a major public victory by making Lorenzo seem the bad guy—and a bad manager. But as one union strategist suggested, the unions have been stymied in large part because no judge, politician, creditor or other establishment figure wants to shift the momentum in favor of unions taking over a major corporation against the will of its owner, however vile or incompetent.

So the bankruptcy judge has let Lorenzo drag out proceedings and veto sound union-

backed bids for the airline, and the court-appointed examiner has been trying to get the unions to end their strike and has delayed critical hearings on Lorenzo's questionable financial transactions. After an initial vote in the House for federal mediator intervention, which President Bush opposed, Congress has failed to act. And creditors have let Lorenzo continue a strategy that could cost them dearly rather than ally with the unions for a new management.

Tragically, the unions have not done everything they could and should have done to win the dispute, even though they have surpassed traditional standards for conducting a strike. To their credit, they got the fractious airline unions to go out together, kept all but a handful of people from crossing picket lines, initiated a sophisticated financial and legal strategy, mobilized unprecedented AFL-CIO support, educated their members well and took their campaign to the public.

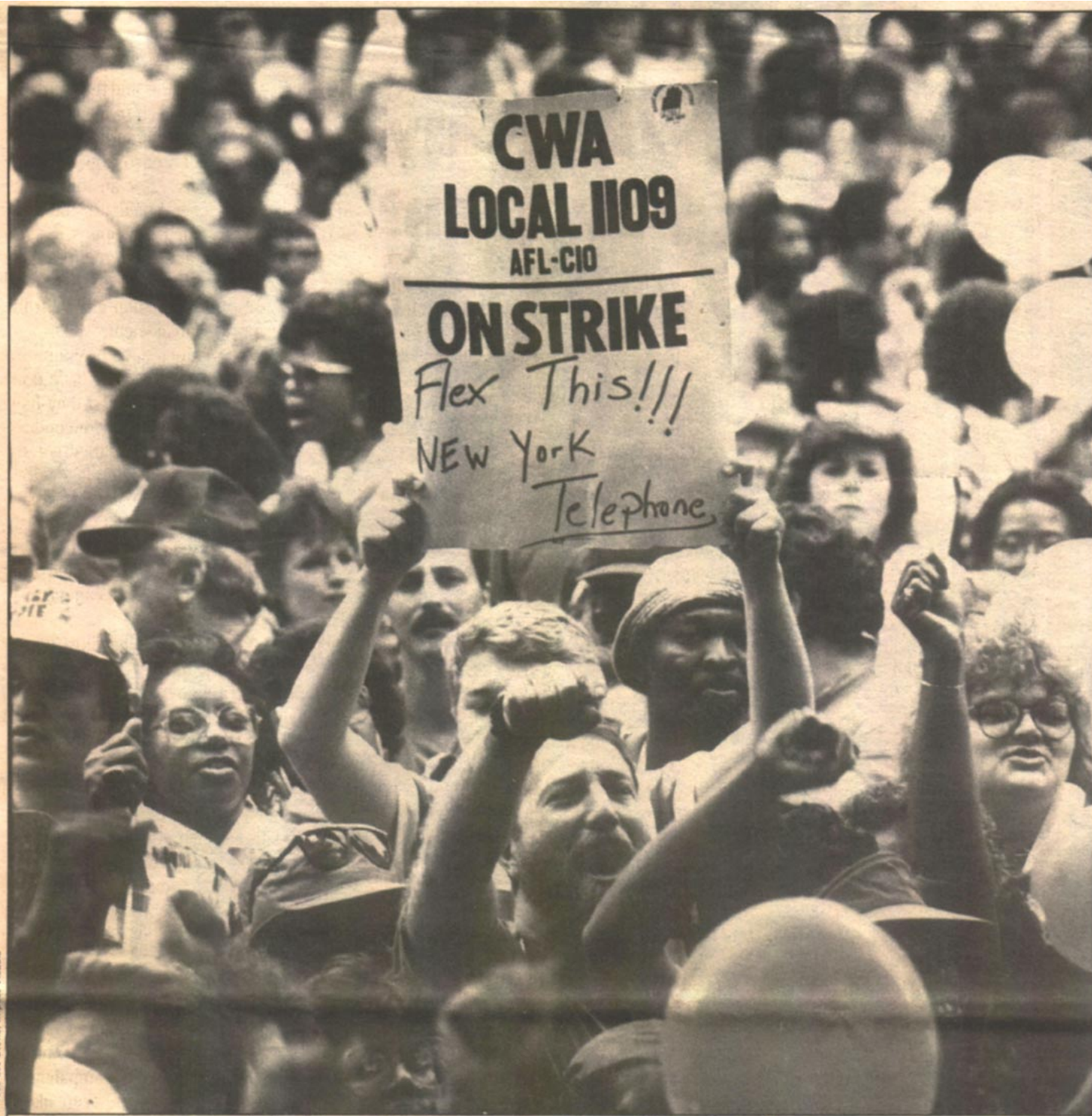
But they made only a limited effort, mainly going to travel agents, to stop people from flying Continental, partly because of the pilots' union hesitations. And they haven't yet mobilized public pressure in strongly pro-union Scandinavia against SAS, the Scandinavian Airline that owns 10 percent of Texas Air (although they have privately worked with Swedish unions).

They also have not yet succeeded in making the anti-Lorenzo campaign a real crusade that deeply stirs people who are potentially sympathetic but ordinarily pay little attention to labor issues. Even other Machinists have not contributed heavily to their brethren on strike or taken advantage of their position in the airports to foul up Eastern and Continental baggage handling. And the AFL-CIO "Fairness at Eastern" campaign has, in the words of one insider, been like "a Christmas tree where all the lights go on but nobody put water in the tree and it died. People are great at the bureaucratic process of sending messages from one office to another and the paper trail is there so it looks like something is happening, but nothing is going on."

There is apparently little or erratic follow-up with direct, one-on-one contact by lower-level officials with their members or the public and too much of the traditional, desultory picket line. The Fairness at Eastern campaign has raised lots of money but only for striker support, not to mount a more powerful strike and public campaign.

The worst glitch occurred in late July and early August, when the pilot union leadership urged pilots to cross the picket lines and return to work. A dedicated core of Eastern pilot strike leaders fought their leadership and won 80 percent approval for continuing the strike. But the weakness at the top was the signal for some wavering pilots to return to work, giving Lorenzo's faltering plan a new lease on life. Now all the other strikers will have to stay out even longer to bring the crisis to a head for Lorenzo, thus giving him a new chance to break the strike.

Stalling out: The failure of labor law was underscored in yet another way when the United Auto Workers went down to a smashing defeat at the Nissan plant in Smyrna, Tenn., after a long organizing drive. In itself the defeat was not surprising: few big manufacturing units are unionized on the first balloting these days. But it was a big blow because of the importance of the UAW, the



Common concerns: Communications Workers of America members joined Eastern Airlines strikers and health care workers for an August rally in New York.

previous high degree of unionization of the auto industry and the growing importance of Japanese transplant factories. It will weaken the union in bargaining with companies it represents.

Many factors worked against the UAW: Nissan wages were comparatively high for the area and, most of all, there had been no layoffs (and the plant will soon hire more workers). Although the union made a strong pitch on Nissan's safety record, that was an issue mainly for workers in the high-pressure assembly areas. Tennessee is hardly pro-union culturally, but about half the organizing drives there this year have succeeded. Nissan, however, had screened workers to get anti-union employees and had used its team meetings, in-plant videos and countless other resources to fight the union.

In the end, working in what many considered the best, most secure job of their lives, many workers simply didn't see what the UAW could do for them. New open-door personnel relations—which Nissan has not implemented as vigorously as some other auto firms—may have played a small role in undermining union support, mainly by minimizing some of the harsh, authoritarian conditions that spur union sympathies elsewhere. But what would the workers have decided if the company had not been so adamantly anti-union, making broad hints that job security and special perks (like leasing Nissan cars) might disappear if workers unionized? And even if a majority didn't vote

for the union, why shouldn't there be some provision for the one-third who wanted a union to be able to have representation?

The AFL-CIO has begun an experiment that could lead to some union affiliation for workers not under contract. Since there are twice as many former union members at work as there are current union members, there's a vast pool of potential "associate memberships"—a new union classification in which workers who are not covered by a specific collective bargaining contract are given limited union affiliation, including some benefits.

Unions are moving slowly to expand new associate membership because some unions fear that their current members will opt for a "cut-rate" associate membership instead of full-fledged affiliation. Although it is likely that associate members will at first be offered services like insurance or credit cards, then perhaps the benefit of advisers like industrial safety experts, what they most need is some form of representation short of having a pro-union majority and contract at a particular workplace. And for that to be most successful, it probably needs some legal support.

A major overhaul: The problems these diverse struggles exemplify make it clear to UMW president Trumka that "the major premises under labor law no longer exist. We need something more fundamental than just patching up the system and having it undermined again in five years." Along with

that, there also have to be some fundamental changes in the labor movement itself.

First, collective bargaining itself has to take a back seat to political solutions. The health care crisis makes that clear, but generally workers are likely to find more security in an age of intense competitive pressures when pensions, health care, job training, parental leave policies, child care and wage guarantees are not tied to their employer. Such a shift would ultimately be good for employers seeking flexibility and for the economy in general as well. The old fragmented private collective bargaining solutions are increasingly antiquated and ineffective. Unions already are a major political force behind these social benefits, but they must shift their emphasis even more to forming the alliances to bring them about and away from reliance on collective bargaining.

The legal framework for labor relations needs to change as well. The law should be designed to guarantee worker rights and industrial democracy in the broadest sense. It should permit those rights to be implemented in many ways, including associations or other non-union groups, as long as employers do not dominate the worker organizations. Unions should be ready to surrender their special legal position in favor of a system that would prohibit any employer interference in worker decisions about their organizational representation, guarantee representation rights for unions representing even a minority of employees and man-

date meaningful collective bargaining leading to contracts with represented workers.

The new system should make it illegal for employers to hire permanent replacements for strikers and should broaden the rights of workers to apply economic pressure and show solidarity. In hammering out new-labor law, it would be a bargain for labor even if unions surrendered their deeply cherished union shop and dues checkoff, which guarantee payment of dues by all workers at a workplace, in favor of unlimited rights for secondary boycotts, sympathy strikes and other acts of solidarity. Such a trade-off would also put institutional pressure on unions to stay more closely in touch with their members.

A broad conception of industrial democracy would give workers more rights, both in contractual bargaining and in law, to have a voice in investment policy, such as plant shutdowns, takeovers and selection of top management. Many strategists already argue that businesses needed a more democratic, participatory style in order to succeed. The law should encourage that and make sure that workers have real power, not just sham involvement.

Trumka says that he often hears labor leaders respond that "the climate isn't right" whenever there's talk of radical labor law reform. But he rejoins that the task for labor is to change the climate. The only way to do that is make the demands of the labor movement once again the focus of a social movement or crusade with allies from other movements—women, blacks, Hispanics, environmentalists. But the demands must be framed not as special pleadings by a collection of pressure groups but rather as the extension of American democracy to the workplace and as the best course for the American economy as a whole.

Labor's decision to push, even under a Bush administration, for sweeping changes in occupational safety and health legislation may indicate a new willingness to take political risks. Union leaders may take comfort from some signs (such as recent Gallup polls) of a slow resurgence in public support for labor. The proposed law would require establishment of worker safety committees in all workplaces, whether unionized or not. That's the way a broad revamping of labor law as industrial democracy law might also work.

Many of the actions taken by the miners, telephone strikers, hospital workers and Eastern Airlines employees show how, despite their limitations, unions can begin to make a crusade out of their demands. The first step is educating, mobilizing and trusting current members. The next step is using those members to spread the message as far as possible, into the schools and churches and beyond the traditional picket line, then bringing those audiences into the labor struggles.

When that happens, more politicians and judges will be willing to side with labor against a Lorenzo, rather than hanging back. When that happens, there may be the constituency to demand a good national health care system. When that happens, labor law may be changed to prohibit the anti-labor actions of Pittston chairman Paul Douglas, Eastern's Lorenzo, Nissan, or the regional Bells. But in order for that to happen, there will have to be more workers organized like the miners, willing to risk repeated arrests and to sit down in the highways. And there will have to be more labor leaders like Trumka, willing to risk union treasuries and their own jobs for the sake of principle. □

IN THESE TIMES AUG. 30-SEPT. 5, 1989 7



AFRICA

By Steve Askin

HARARE, ZIMBABWE

IN HIS FEBRUARY VISIT TO MOROCCO, ZAIRIAN President Mobutu Sese Seko Kuku Ngbendu wa Za Banga gave a gift of 5 million French francs (US\$789,000)—a check drawn on his personal account at a Paris bank—to his longtime ally King Hassan II toward construction of Africa's largest mosque in Casablanca. In Washington, visitors to the Smithsonian Institution can see another example of Mobutu's largesse: the \$100,000, 7.9 carat "Humphrey diamond," from the rich diamond mines of south-central Zaire, that Mobutu gave to the wife of Vice President Hubert Humphrey in 1968.

Such gifts are petty cash for Mobutu, a high-living reputed billionaire who rules 35 million impoverished people in a vast central African nation that produces nearly half of the world's cobalt and contains some of the Earth's richest deposits of diamonds, gold, copper and other minerals.

With the fall of Marcos, Somoza and the shah of Iran, Mobutu is among the survivors of a cluster of fantastically wealthy and flamboyantly corrupt Third World autocrats with intimate ties to Washington. Unlike those fallen dictators, Mobutu has mastered the art of political survival by dividing, confusing and manipulating his enemies.

Despite his enormous wealth, when Mobutu visited his old friend and adversary George Bush in June he was seeking gifts,

Mobutu is a reputed billionaire who rules 35 million impoverished people.

Zaire's ills call for Croesus management

not handing them out. And he got exactly what he wanted: a \$20 million soft loan to his government from the World Bank—where the U.S. wields great influence—and strong support from the Bush administration against congressional liberals who want to cut off much of Zaire's U.S. aid.

Bush went beyond predictable praise for Mobutu as Angola peacemaker (Mobutu had brokered the historic meeting between that devastated nation's warring political factions at Gbadolite, Zaire, in June) to laud him as a valued partner to every U.S. president since Lyndon Johnson in efforts to "bring to Zaire and all of Africa true

economic and social progress."

The praise was partly payback for Mobutu's role—aptly described by former U.S. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance—as "a source of consistent if sometimes embarrassing political support" for U.S. goals in Africa. It also reflected Mobutu's extraordinary diplomatic skills and his genius for minutely timing events to make himself seem indispensable to his Western backers.

Senior southern African diplomats say he pushed hard to hold the Angola peace summit just before his long-planned Washington visit. To win the International Monetary Fund (IMF) stamp of approval before that visit,

Mobutu two months ago paid back Zaire's \$130 million in IMF arrears. Financed by a short-term loan from a Belgian bank with long ties to Mobutu, this cost his government little but gave the IMF an excuse to bow to U.S. political pressure and reinstate a structural adjustment pact for Zaire's economy that collapsed more than a year ago.

As a result, the man long viewed as America's most corrupt Third World ally claimed in Washington new respectability as a peacemaker and a prudent economic manager. Facts uncovered during a four-month investigation belie this image, suggesting that more than \$300 million in Zaire's foreign revenues went missing last year alone.

Missing millions: The new IMF agreement was signed over intense internal dissent from economists who say Mobutu cannot be trusted to stop looting the treasury. "The budget and mining revenues are really private pools of money for Mobutu and his friends," said one of those dissenters. "If Mobutu decides to load a plane with cobalt to sell in Europe, nobody knows about it.... He is one of the richest men on Earth and he heads one of the world's poorest countries."

When IMF and World Bank auditors examined Zaire's 1988 foreign earnings accounts in preparation for the new agreement, they found Zairian officials unable or unwilling to account for between \$300 and \$400 million earned from exports last year alone,

Dictator Mobutu, one of the world's wealthiest men, corruptly rules over one of the world's poorest countries. A four-month investigation suggests that \$300 million in Zaire's foreign revenues went missing last year.

said sources at both multilateral institutions. In addition, a 1988 World Bank study obtained by *In These Times* says that "some of the most powerful individuals in the country" have been involved in stealing and smuggling Zaire's most strategic natural resource, cobalt. The study, "The Underground Economy in Zaire," also found that:

- Illegal gold exports are "several times the officially reported national production";
- Massive ivory poaching and smuggling "will soon result in the annihilation of one of Zaire's great natural resources";
- The theft and smuggling of cobalt "is primarily carried out by some of the most powerful individuals in the country";
- 30-60 percent of Zairian coffee production is smuggled out of the country, along with half the cinchona and papain and at least 10 percent of the tea.

Despite Mobutu's nominally capitalist orientation, his government corruption

makes it difficult for Zaire to hold or attract foreign investors. Attempts to woo major new investments from U.S. businessmen in recent years—including Texas millionaire Bunker Hunt, whom Mobutu personally visited in Dallas in 1987—have failed. Zaire could easily triple its gold production, but several investors who looked at a rich mining concession offered by the government in eastern Zaire ultimately decided against it, in large part due to the corruption problem, according to a mining industry analyst who specializes in African mineral matters.

Bad company: Mobutu has, however, forged close links with some of the world's most controversial capitalists. They include men like Adnan Khashoggi—now awaiting trial in the U.S. on charges that he helped Ferdinand Marcos loot the Philippines) and South Korean influence peddler Tongsun Park of Koreagate fame. The Mobutu government's paid agents in America have included

Nael el-Assad, a Khashoggi in-law, and Robert Maheu, an associate of the late billionaire recluse Howard Hughes and a intermediary in a 1961 CIA-Mafia plot on the life of Cuban President Fidel Castro.

The ties run both ways, with Washington sometimes using businessmen to carry its messages to Mobutu. New York diamond dealer Maurice Tempelsman—known to gossip columns as Jacqueline Onassis' boyfriend—has played that role for more than 20 years. The CIA operative behind Mobutu's rise to power, former Congo station chief Lawrence Devlin, served until last year as Tempelsman's Kinshasa representative.

However, even these Mobutu friends don't find Zaire an easy place to do business. Tempelsman, Mobutu's oldest personal contact in the American business community, unsuccessfully tried in the '70s to bring a half-billion-dollar U.S.-Japanese mining consortium to Zaire. He still maintains an office in Kin-

shasa, headed by Jerry Funk, a former National Security Council Africa chief. Diamond magnate Tempelsman insists he no longer has any active investments or trade links in Zaire and has recently turned his attention toward neighboring Angola. (See accompanying story.)

Repeated attempts to get official Zairian response to corruption and mismanagement charges were unavailing. A U.S. spokesman for Mobutu initially offered to arrange an interview with the Zairian president but failed to do so. The governor of the Zairian central bank, Pay Pay wa Syakassighe, failed to show up for a promised interview.

In interviews elsewhere, however, Mobutu has angrily dismissed corruption charges. "Treating me as a thief is a grave, unacceptable, intolerable insult which stems from contempt and racist condescension," he told a Belgian journalist.

Continued on following page

Angola's mixed-ideology regime is attracting investors disillusioned by pervasive corruption in Zaire

HARARE, ZIMBABWE—There was more than a little irony behind Mobutu's fleeting diplomatic triumph in brokering June's handshake of peace between Angolan President Jose Eduardo Dos Santos and Jonas Savimbi, of the CIA- and South African-supported rebel movement UNITA (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola).

If it endures (and it appears to be collapsing as *In These Times* goes to press), the cease-fire could mark the end of one of the world's most brutal wars. As many as 50,000 Angolan civilians have lost limbs to land mines, according to the human rights group Africa Watch—more than anywhere else on Earth. More than 100,000 have died, and 1.5 million require emergency food and other aid.

The irony is that Mobutu, who brought the two sides together, has done as much as anyone to encourage Angolans to kill each other.

In recent years the Zairian leader let the U.S. use his country as its main staging area for arms shipments to UNITA. But dating back to before Angola gained its freedom from Portugal in 1975, Mobutu—often working in concert with the CIA—was intimately involved in that nation's independence struggle.

How fast the wounds can heal will depend partly on the U.S., which has said it will keep sending weapons to Savimbi's UNITA until he has a more fully worked out peace agreement with the Angolan government. Reconciliation will also depend on Mobutu, who faces strong pressure from Africa's frontline states to immediately stop letting the U.S. use his territory to arm UNITA.

Bush, who in his inaugural address declared "the day of the dictator is over," in Washington in June hailed the Zairian dictator as a peacemaker.

As those words were spoken, the cease-fire was already being threatened by mutual charges of violations. Just a few days after the pact, Angolan officials said that UNITA forces had sabotaged electric lines to Luanda, cutting off the capital's power supply. The agreement is doubly fragile because Dos Santos and Savimbi agreed on little apart from shaking hands and recognizing each other as Angolan patriots. They still must reconcile radically different settlement plans.

The Angolan government wants



Savimbi to accept temporary exile and the absorption of UNITA into the ruling Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA). Savimbi says he doesn't intend to leave the country and calls for multiparty elections.

Strange bedfellows: The Angolan conflict and Savimbi's part in it have been murky and confusing issues to outsiders.

Trained in Mao's China in the '60s, Savimbi had no trouble adjusting to his subsequent backers in the CIA and South African defense force. His lately disillusioned hagiographer, British journalist Fred Bridgland, whose 669-page paean to UNITA was published in 1986, now charges Savimbi's group with murder and torture of internal rivals and their families and even the burning of dissenters as witches.

By the same token, the nominally Marxist-Leninist MPLA has a reputation with Western oil firms as one of the best

partners a capitalist can find on the African continent. Oil exports last year made Angola—despite Washington's official hostility toward the government—America's third-largest business partner in sub-Saharan Africa, with trading volume eight times that for U.S.-allied Zaire.

The ironies are well summed up in a political cartoon on one Western diplomat's office wall. It depicts Angola as the place where Cuban troops protect American oil installations from Chinese-trained guerrillas sent against them by the U.S.

If the pact holds, it will attract a small rush of investment from foreign firms which, even before the Gbadolite summit, were positioning themselves to profit from the rich mining opportunities peace might create. Eager to strengthen their already strong links to the capitalist world, Angolan officials have won pre-

liminary approval for their application for membership in the International Monetary Fund and are almost certain to join before the year is out.

Angola's investment gain is likely to be a loss for Zaire, where the high cost of corruption scares away many companies.

"If Zaire wants investment, they're going to have to shape up, because companies see vastly better prospects next door in Angola," said a British businessman who asked not to be identified because he has economic interests in Zaire.

The shift has moved furthest in the diamond industry. Angola was once the world's fourth-largest gem diamond producer, and fierce competition is emerging for the right to revive a disrupted mining industry that, according to estimates from Harare's Institute for Mining Research, has lost more than \$4 billion in direct war damage and forgone production since 1975.

In March, a politically influential U.S. businessman, African-American Institute Chairman Maurice Tempelsman, signed a deal to buy \$20 million worth of Angolan diamonds annually. He expressed hope that his contract would lead to more "mutually beneficial examples of economic cooperation between our two countries."

Tempelsman, a frequent collaborator and sometimes competitor to the De Beers-Angola American diamond cartel, now faces competition from that giant South African mining group. According to recent British press reports, De Beers has stepped in with a bid to market Angola's entire diamond output, potentially worth close to \$2 billion a year.

No amount of economic development can do more than begin to heal the wounds from a war that, according to one U.N. estimate, cost Angola \$17 billion in physical destruction during its first 10 years alone.

And economic reconstruction is a far simpler task than rebuilding shattered lives. A UNICEF report issued in April says that Angola is tied with Mozambique for the world's highest child mortality rate. One Angolan child in three dies before age five, the report said, and, because of war, 40 percent of the survivors have been left without schools to attend. —S.A.

Continued from preceding page

"Each year our parliament adopts the budget, and thus also the president's budget," Mobutu told the German magazine *Der Spiegel* in February. But confidential Zairian central bank data for 1986, the last year for which *In These Times* was able to obtain detailed figures, shows that the presidency and other political institutions controlled by Mobutu spent at least \$150 million—three times the amount granted them by parliament and more than 20 times the government's education spending. Indeed, the presidency alone spent more money than all social services combined.

Bourbon development: World Bank and IMF auditors have despaired at tracking the trajectories of all this spending, but it is known that tens of millions of dollars are annually poured into Mobutu's drive to turn his remote home village of Gbadolite—the "Versailles of the jungle" where 18 African

heads of state met last month—into Zaire's first and only modern city.

Over objections from foreign experts who point to Zaire's electric overcapacity, Mobutu is building a hydropower plant to serve Gbadolite. The local airport also boasts a runway long enough to accommodate the Concorde he routinely leases from Air France to speed his international trips. Mobutu told *Der Spiegel* he needs the Concorde because "I cannot sleep on a plane, and I am terribly scared of sleeping pills." Asked if it's an extravagance, he responded emphatically, "To accuse me of wasting money—no, I am sorry. Just think of the time I save."

In response to his lavish spending, some congressional Democrats are backing a bill to cut off much of Mobutu's aid and formally condemn his regime's "uncontrollable corruption." During one hearing on administration plans to pour \$60 million in aid into

Zaire next year, Rep. Howard Wolpe (D-MI) asked a State Department official to comment on reports that Mobutu pays a company run by his security chief in partnership with South Africans to fly "tons of Italian marble [and] Belgian glass" to Gbadolite.

Despite this anti-Mobutu thrust, the Zairian dictator's Washington allies, citing his role as strategic ally and Angola peacemaker, have a good chance of blocking significant aid cuts.

If so, it will not be the first time. "Every time we thought of abandoning him, Mobutu found a new way to make himself indispensable," said a former State Department official who shaped Africa policy under both Republicans and Democrats.

When Carter administration officials tried to press for reform, they were constantly thwarted by Mobutu's shrewd delaying tactics. "He was always one or two steps ahead of us ... far shrewder at understanding our

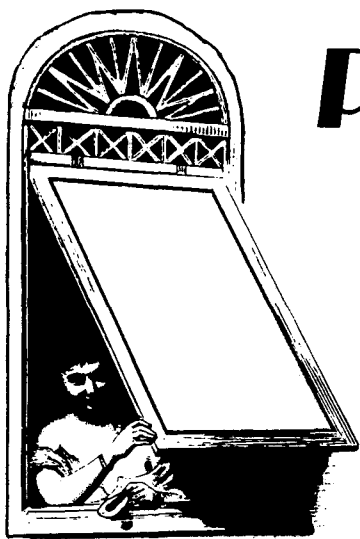
motivations than all but a handful of people on our side," remembers Richard Moose, Carter's Africa policy chief in the State Department.

U.S. officials like Julius E. Coles, the coastal and central west African affairs director at the Agency for International Development, agree that financial irregularities occur in Zaire but argue, "That's a problem of trying to work in the developing world." Coles asked during an interview, "Is it any worse in Zaire? I'm not sure I'm prepared to make that conclusion." Coles emphasized that the U.S., working with the IMF and World Bank, is actively encouraging "policy reform" in Zaire. Mobutu's more candid backers dismiss corruption charges as irrelevant.

"Of course the guy's corrupt, but so is everybody else in the Third World," says William Pascoe, a former official of the conservative Heritage Foundation who spearheaded efforts to increase aid to Zaire. "It may be true that Mobutu steals, even from our covert aid programs. Nonetheless, significant amounts of money got to Savimbi through Mobutu, and that's what really matters."

Bush has in the past quietly demonstrated sympathy for Pascoe's view. Back in 1976 when Bush headed the CIA, Mobutu grabbed for himself more than \$1.3 million in covert action funds intended for U.S.-backed Angolan rebels Jonas Savimbi and Holden Roberto. CIA officials chose to let Mobutu keep the money, according to John Stockwell, who then headed Washington's Angola task force, considering it useful to "bribe him not to retaliate against the CIA."

Steve Askin covers southern Africa for *In These Times* from his base in Zimbabwe.



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CONVERSION OF INDUSTRY FROM ARMS TO civilian consumer goods production is at the heart of Mikhail Gorbachov's drive to reorganize the Soviet economy. He has raised the issue over the past year in major speeches to the United Nations General Assembly, the Trilateral Commission meeting in Moscow, the Council of Europe in Strasbourg and West German labor representatives in the Ruhr.

At the U.N. last December, Gorbachov stressed "transition from an armaments economy to a disarmament economy" as an international problem. The Soviet Union would make public its 1989 experimentation in conversion, Gorbachov promised, calling on other countries, starting with the other major military powers, to submit their own conversion plans to the U.N. (Sweden, starting in the early '80s, is the only country so far to officially examine conversion as a possible option in case of worldwide disarmament.)

Like many a Gorbachovian disarmament concept, conversion has been plucked from the intellectual hothouse of Western critical ideas to become official Soviet policy, while remaining far outside the decision-making mainstream in the U.S. and NATO. Soviet officials cite Seymour Melman, author of *Pentagon Capitalism*, on the damage done to civilian production by the "permanent war economy," while acknowledging that the damage was vastly greater to the poorer Soviet economy than to that of the rich U.S.

The well-informed intellectuals around Gorbachov have recognized the arms race as a trap set by American strategists to bury the Soviet economy in military expenditures. Indeed, the Soviet economy is caught in that trap, and the problem now is how to get out of it.

In the spring of 1988 it was reported that the Votkinsk factory that used to make the SS-20 nuclear missile was now making mobile refrigerated beverage tanks and milk pasteurization equipment. A major feature of the conversion program is an eight-year plan, from 1988 to 1995, to build 20,000 new food processing plants and renovate twice that many, with 17.5 billion of the 37 billion ruble cost to be borne by the defense industry. But by last January, Deputy Prime Minister Igor Belusov had to confess to *Izvestia* that "involvement of the defense industry in technical renovation of food processing is not going as smoothly as could be desired." Expectations were high at first in part because the military sector enjoys a reputation for superior efficiency in the Soviet Union. Caution might be inspired by Western studies pointing out the difficulties of military contractors in adjusting to a civilian market, especially in regard to pricing, already a dilemma in the USSR.

Peace of mind: "It's not so easy," Margarita Bunkina, from the Soviet peace committee, told conversion specialists from the Federation of German Trade Unions (DGB) at an informal round table in Bonn last May. The Germans had experience as labor representatives on the boards of major industrial giants like Krupp (according to the unique German "codetermination" system) and in work groups elaborating conversion plans.

The round table was organized by the German Greens as part of a Soviet-West German "peace week" prior to Gorbachov's official visit, and chaired by Green Bundestag member Christa Vennegerts, an economist with banking experience. The Soviets were



Soviet President Gorbachov: can he win Western converts to conversion?

But just how big is the market for plowshares?

peace committee intellectuals with no special competence in conversion problems. The interest aroused by this first encounter should spur more specialized exchanges.

The German unionists arrived with an impressive array of precise studies for what they prefer to call "socially useful" rather than "civilian" production. Many stressed that the West German consumer market is long since saturated. The real needs are social and, above all, environmental. Oswald

DISARMAMENT

Pietzsch, an engineer with Blohm & Voss in Hamburg and member of an "alternative production work circle," arrived with a fully elaborated model for a whole new "hydrogen-based economy" using water as the basic energy source.

Stuttgart union official Georg Werckmeister said that, instead of "conversion," the metal workers union IG Metall prefers to speak of "alternative production," which can be understood as a substitute for unemployment as well as for weapons. "Arms ruin the economy" is our slogan," he said.

Werckmeister presented a list of useful high-tech alternative product ideas. But "enlightened capitalists who support such plans run into very strong opposition" from the arms lobby, he added, emphasizing the need for political combat.

Herbert Zeretzke, an engineer at Krupp in Kiel, stressed the need to develop technical plans appropriate for the Third World. "We must make our development model transferable to the rest of the world," he said. Zeretzke had something very concrete in mind: an entirely new urban transport system.

The Russians seemed interested, not to say amazed. A young Moscow researcher lamented that "there is no data for research on our arms industry." The military aviation industry is shifting to food production, but apparently by improvisation, without seri-

ous prior studies of capacities and markets. "I'm pessimistic," she concluded.

Bunkina also complained that too little was known about the Soviet factories being converted. Their very identities were long covered by military secrecy. "Where are these military plants, what is the transport infrastructure? Where is the market?"

More optimistic than the others, Vladimir Shenayev of the Soviet Academy of Sciences still noted that although considered efficient and disciplined, arms enterprises had no experience in a competitive market. Their contracts have been orders, with no competitive bids.

In the '70s, the subsequently exiled East German singer Wolf Biermann wrote a song about leftists from East and West who meet and get into the usual argument: it's worse in *our* system than in *yours*. There was a touch of that in the Green-sponsored Soviet-

The underconsuming Soviets and overconsuming West Germans are beginning to trade ideas on the way to reach and shape economic conversion from war production.

German conversion talks. Germans, with briefcases full of precise plans for a fully converted alternative economy, complained that the "political will" was lacking in Germany to carry them out. Conversion was therefore easier in the Soviet Union, some of them insisted. Russians countered that political will was fine and good, but it would certainly help to know what to do in practical terms.

The Russians complained more about in-

ternal secrecy and the resulting absence of technology transfer from military to civilian sectors than about obstacles to their access to Western technology symbolized by COCOM, the secret "coordinating committee for multilateral export controls" set up in the Cold War to block supposedly "strategic" exports from NATO countries to the Soviet bloc. Bunkina echoed Gorbachov's call for the Soviet Union to get rid of secrecy and its own "internal COCOM."

In short, the Soviets, with conversion as official policy, were worried by technical difficulties. The Germans, well on the way to mastering technical problems, were concerned with political obstacles.

Peace goods: This was by no means the only contrast. The Soviet Union suffers from an enormous unsatisfied consumer demand which makes it relatively easy to find areas of alternative production that respond to a consumer market. Correspondingly, the Soviets emphasized the need to free up production from heavy-handed state control. In West Germany, on the contrary, consumer markets are glutted, and conversion requires government decisions to support economic restructuring.

An additional aspect of conversion, stressed by the Soviets, is massive demobilization and relocation of members of the armed forces.

Economist Jörg Huffschild said real conversion entailed a whole reorientation of the economy, including the structure of work. "Demand side is where the problems lie," he said. In West Germany, new environmental protection techniques are being offered by the very companies involved in arms production. "The question is, who will pay? Who buys? We need a market. The private market is no answer because we are not now in a growth market. The state as arms market has huge responsibilities," he stressed.

The institution of codetermination gives German unions an advantage in pressing the question of "socially useful" production. The engineers working up alternative plans are sensitive to the political relationship of forces. "Our plans are part of the political contest for power," said one. "Much more than arms needs to be changed. Working out plans is part of raising consciousness."

Zeretzke stressed the importance of involving employees in the conversion process. "We can't go straight from military motors to ecologically clean new production," he said. "Plans are always being changed. Their main purpose is to get employees involved in the process."

Huffschild granted the union-sponsored conversion campaign one major achievement: it is no longer possible in West Germany for the arms lobby to use the "jobs" argument to win support from labor. But he pointed to the limits of conversion efforts at the plant or enterprise level: "In our society, workers have no say in production as employees. They can influence such choices only through the political process as citizens."

Bundestag member Vennegerts saw a future advantage in the conversion plans worked out by the German unionists. "They have something concrete. So whenever the political decision comes from above, they are ready," she said.

The Social Democrats and Greens seem set to agree on a program of massive cuts in defense spending and "ecological restructuring of industrial society" to present to German voters in national elections next year. Ready, set...go? □

New York's m

By Salim Muwakkil

NEW YORK

THE POSSIBILITY THAT NEW YORKERS WILL elect the first black mayor in the city's history seems a bit less likely now than it did two months ago. Manhattan Borough President David Dinkins, the black candidate for the Democratic nomination, still leads incumbent Ed Koch in the latest polls, but the margin is shrinking and the mayor clearly has the momentum as the September 12 primary election nears.

The two other Democratic candidates—Harrison "Jay" Goldin and Richard Ravitch—have failed to garner much public support and consequently languish low in the polls. Goldin, 53, has been the city comptroller for 16 years. The 56-year-old Ravitch is a real estate developer and former chairman of both the Metropolitan Transportation Authority and the City Charter Revision Commission.

All four of the candidates are moderate-to-liberal Democrats, with Dinkins stating positions furthest on the political left. Interestingly, Dinkins prefers to be characterized as "progressive" while his opponents readily embrace the liberal label. Although drugs and crime have pushed the "conservative" issue of law and order high on the list of voter concerns, New York City is still much more liberal than the rest of the country. Jesse Jackson won the 1988 Democratic presidential primary here, and Michael Dukakis took the general election.

If none of the candidates wins more than 40 percent of the primary, the top two vote-getters will face each other in a September 26 runoff election. In this overwhelmingly Democratic city the general election is usually nothing more than a pro forma exercise to ratify the Democratic primary results. This year, though, things will be different.

With Republican Rudolph Giuliani—a former U.S. attorney with a national reputation as an effective prosecutor—expected to win the GOP nomination, the November 7 general election promises to be a hard-fought battle. Giuliani's primary opponent is Ronald Lauder, the "richest man to ever run for mayor of New York," with a net worth of more than \$250 million.

Lauder, the 45-year-old son of cosmetics queen Estée Lauder and a former ambassador to Austria, is sinking \$10 million of his own money into the campaign. He has the support of New York's most powerful Republican, Sen. Alfonse D'Amato, but little additional backing. The wealthy cosmetics heir insists he's the only true Republican in the race, and his name will appear on the Conservative Party ballot as well in the November election. Most pundits give him no chance of toppling the popular former prosecutor in the GOP primary.

Dinkins' dilemma: Dinkins' quest to become the city's first black mayor has failed to fire up the city's African-American community. Thus, despite a campaign featuring a wide range of interracial support, the Dinkins' candidacy is generating scant enthusiasm among the grass roots of his core constituency. Many black analysts blame this on his conciliatory political style. Others claim his team just hasn't done the necessary legwork.

Because of a series of incidents involving black New Yorkers who died while in police hands, and the general tenor of the times, racial tensions are high. Koch has done no-

thing but inflame those tensions with his harsh rhetoric and manifest insensitivity to the needs of the African-American community.

"For 12 years Koch has blatantly insulted and ignored the black community," explains Wilbur Tatum, publisher of the black-owned *Amsterdam News*. "It's way past time that we get rid of this corrupt and anti-black regime." For Tatum and many others, Dinkins' popularity is fueled by a widespread dislike of the brash incumbent. In fact, it was a Koch statement during the 1988 presidential primary—"Jews and other New Yorkers concerned about Israel would be crazy to vote for Jesse Jackson"—that is credited with convincing Dinkins to run.

As the primary winds down, the Dinkins camp is sharpening its message and attacking Koch more aggressively in an attempt to spark some excitement in the black community. Although he has lined up an impressive array of endorsements, most analysts agree that Dinkins must energize his core to win the election.

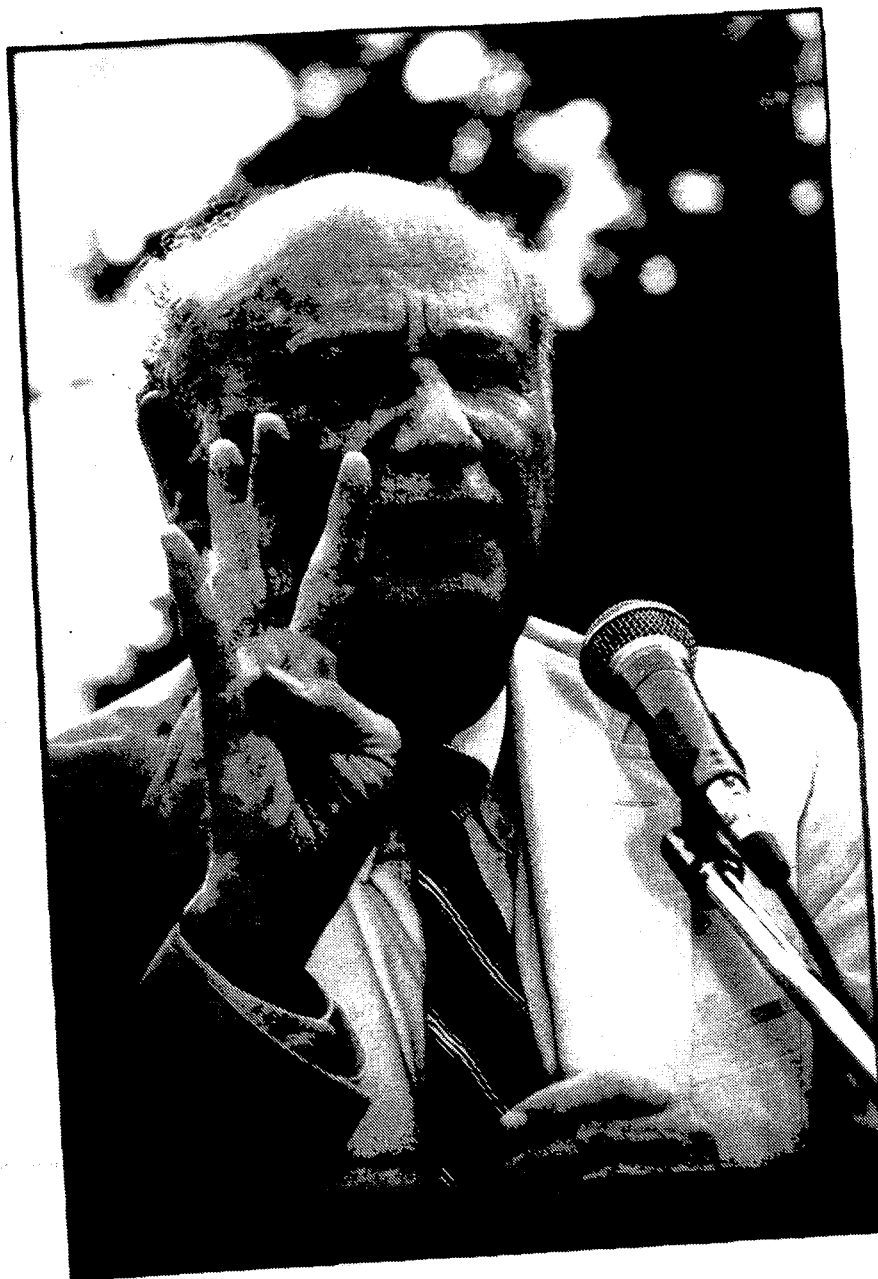
Former mayors John Lindsay, the last Republican to lead the city, and Abraham Beame, the Democrat who ousted Lindsay and preceded Koch, are on the list of prominent Dinkins supporters. Among the dozens of endorsements received by the Manhattan borough boss are those of the National Organization for Women; Victor Gotbaum, former leader of New York's Municipal Union; and Howard Squadron, a former head of the Conference of Presidents of Major Jewish Organizations.

"David's campaign is the most hopeful of them all," says Bill Muchow, a veteran organizer who heads Council 16 of the Teamsters union and who is coordinating much of Dinkins' labor support. "He's the only candidate who can bring this city together, and a lot of people realize that. There is a tremendous amount of racism in this city, and David's election would do much to get us on the road to dealing with it."

Hispanic support: The Democratic front-runners are aggressively seeking support from the city's huge Hispanic community. Elected Hispanic officials are split almost evenly in their support for Koch and Dinkins. However, the city's highest-ranking Hispanic elected official, Bronx Borough President Fernando Ferrer, recently endorsed Dinkins.

The relationship between Dinkins and Hispanic New Yorkers is of great import for its larger political implications. Together blacks and Hispanics make up about 45 percent of the vote in the city, and various community activists have long urged a working coalition between what they consider natural allies.

That potential alliance was seriously damaged in 1985 when a group of African-American leaders—including Dinkins—aborted the incipient mayoral campaign of Herman Badillo, a former Bronx borough president and congressman. Instead Dinkins and the others backed Denny Farrell, a nothing candidate who just happened to be black and who suffered an embarrassing loss at the ballot box. Hispanics were angered by the action of the black politicians, and Koch pulled about 65 percent of their vote in the 1985 primary.



Ed Koch



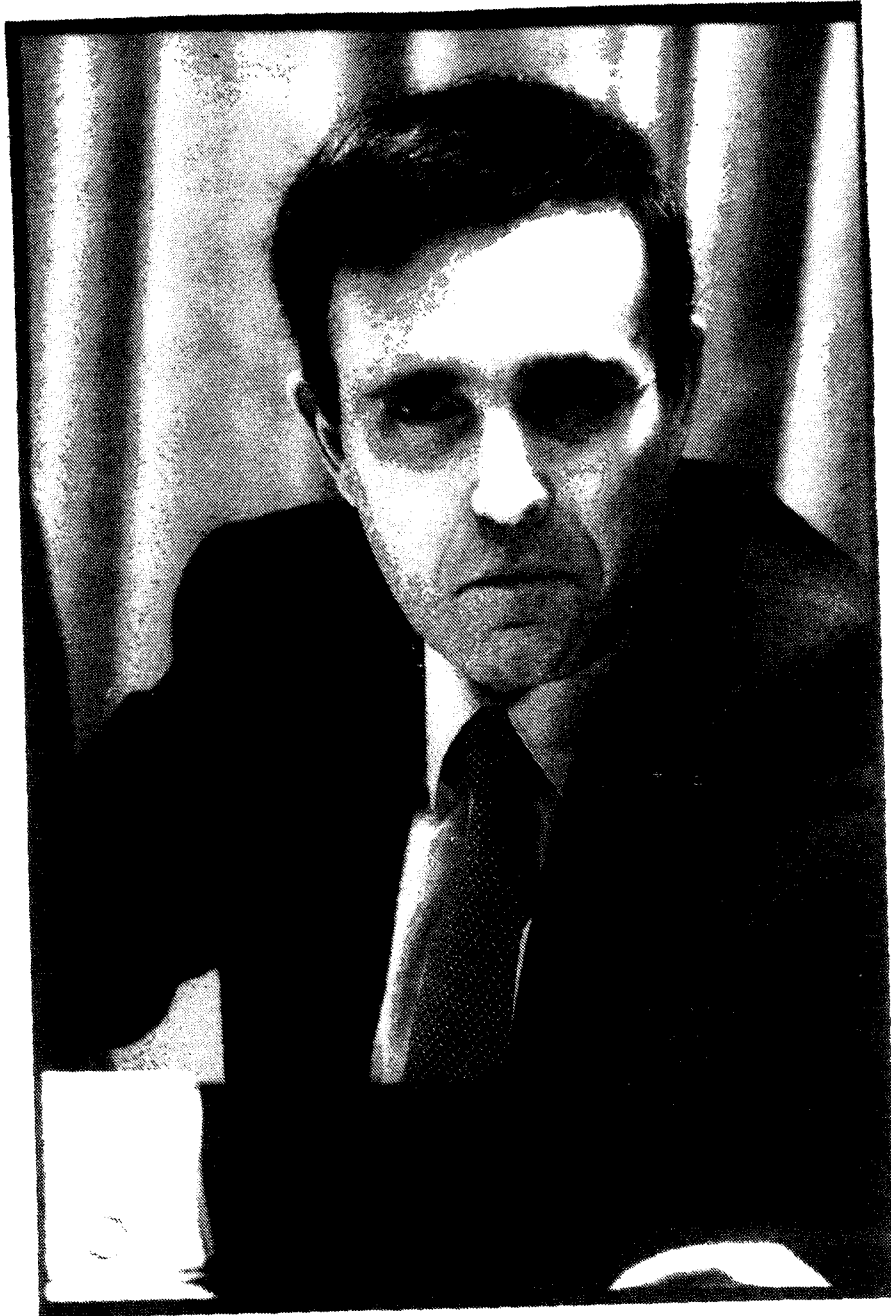
David

Six colorless candidates play the racial game

Mayoral race



1989 Lee Stone Impact Visuals



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Rudolph Giuliani

Koch's relationship with the Hispanic community in general is a source of great concern to his operatives.

In early 1988 Hispanic New Yorkers gave Koch a 56 percent approval rating, but the latest figure is 25 percent. "Latinos are also fed up with the mayor's confrontational tactics and his insensitivity to our concerns," says Dennis Rivera, president of Local 1199 of the Drug, Hospital and Health Care Employees Union. Rivera supports Dinkins.

Republican Giuliani is also viewed favorably by a majority of the city's Hispanics. His image as a tough-guy reformer is an attractive one to a community bedeviled by the urban ills of crime, crack and AIDS. To many Hispanics Giuliani's conservative stance and prosecutorial credibility on those problems and his liberalism on social issues seem just what the doctor ordered for these troubled times. Moreover, in another peculiarity of politics in this city, Giuliani has also managed to get his name listed as a candidate on the Liberal Party ticket.

Giuliani's tumble: But Giuliani's star is beginning to fall. After bursting on the scene with all the bravura of a hero riding in on a white horse to save the city, his campaign has run smack into the cold facts of New York City politics.

First there were the revelations about the links between his law firm and Panamanian strongman Manuel Noriega. Then the political ramifications of the Supreme Court's *Webster* decision caught him off guard. Already on record as being opposed to abortion and favoring the overturning of *Roe vs.*

Wade, Giuliani "clarified" his position following the Supreme Court ruling, when a variety of polls revealed that most Americans favored continued abortion rights. Although the Republican-Liberal Giuliani says he still personally opposes abortion, he now believes that the procedure should remain legal and says he now favors funding of abortions for poor women.

That flip-flop tarnished the golden boy's glow and chilled his reception among the more liberal of his supporters. He compounded the damage by coming out against bereavement leave for homosexuals employed by the city who suffer the death of a partner. Since then there have been other unflattering revelations: Daniel Lazare's piece in the *Village Voice* detailing Giuliani's role in imprisoning Haitian boat people, disclosures of his Vietnam draft exemption and charges of media grandstanding in various Wall Street probes while he was a U.S. attorney.

After one investigation initiated by the Giuliani-led U.S. attorneys office recently ended with no charges being filed, Mayor Koch sneered that Giuliani "calls himself a big prosecutor, then handcuffs people, drags them out of their offices in chains, causes great pain to their families and then he doesn't come up with an indictment."

On top of that, and perhaps more damaging, is a *Daily News* photo showing Giuliani holding his son in his arms as a gust of wind blows back his carefully arranged hairpiece revealing a bald pate for all New York to see. The photo gaffe has become a metaphor, of

sorts, for the Giuliani campaign: who is this guy, really?

The candidate has hired Republican hit man Roger Ailes, of Willie Horton fame, to help reconstruct his damaged campaign. But according to Jimmy Breslin, a columnist for *New York Newsday* and one of the city's most respected pundits, Giuliani will never become mayor of New York City with Ailes—an operative alien to the New York mentality—calling the shots.

Koch's burden: After serving as mayor for 12 years, Koch has an excess of negative baggage. The African-American community seems to be the most unhappy with his tenure, but the contentious Koch has alienated many other groups with his bully-boy tactics and shoot-from-the-hip persona.

One recent example of his rhetorical recklessness is an outburst during a speech he made outside the Iranian mission to the United Nations. All six candidates showed up at the demonstration, called by the Jewish Community Relations Council of New York to help defuse U.S. anger at an Israeli action that endangered the lives of American hostages.

While the five other candidates denounced terrorism and pledged to support any U.S. action taken, Koch urged the president to tell Iran, "If every single hostage isn't freed by Monday" the U.S. would carpet-bomb the Bekaa Valley in Lebanon—a 75-mile-long stretch of Lebanon that is home to thousands of Lebanese non-combatants. The very next day Koch visited the Arab section of Brooklyn to assure them that he

would offer protection from the anti-Arab violence that had been threatened during this period. According to reporters on the scene, he seemed unable to understand why the Arab community refused to take seriously a promise of protection from a man who had just advocated the indiscriminate bombing of their relatives.

Talent bank: Aside from the mayor's various verbal affronts, he is having problems in other areas. The latest involves his former special assistant, Joseph DeVincenzo, who was recently indicted on 11 counts of perjury for lying to a state commission about the activities of the Mayor's Talent Bank, an organization set up to bring more blacks, Hispanics and women into city government. Investigations later revealed that the Talent Bank was simply a patronage mill that parceled out jobs mostly to white males with political connections.

This charge is particularly damaging to Koch who, as noted earlier, is least well-liked in the African-American community. What's more, it adds to the aura of corruption that has surrounded the Koch administration. In the first debate for the Democratic primary race, Goldin called out the names of some of Koch's people who left office because of various corruption scandals and added, "They haul them off in manacles; they throw them in jail. You had to dismiss them in disgrace," he said, looking at Koch. "And that's a record you can't laugh away, a record of the worst corruption in a municipal administration in this city in history."

Hit the streets: Lillian Smith was a volunteer for Harold Washington's juggernaut Chicago mayoral campaign in 1983. She said the experience politicized her forever and she still marvels at the tremendous civic energy generated on the grass-roots level. A producer for the *Donahue Show*, Smith is now a Manhattan resident and a volunteer for the Dinkins campaign.

"The difference between the two cities is astounding," she explained. "The Dinkins people are not as eager to get down into the community as were the workers for Washington. And there are a lot of turf rivalries in this city that either weren't there or were submerged in Chicago." Although she remains confident that Dinkins will pull off a victory, Smith is impatient with his campaign strategy.

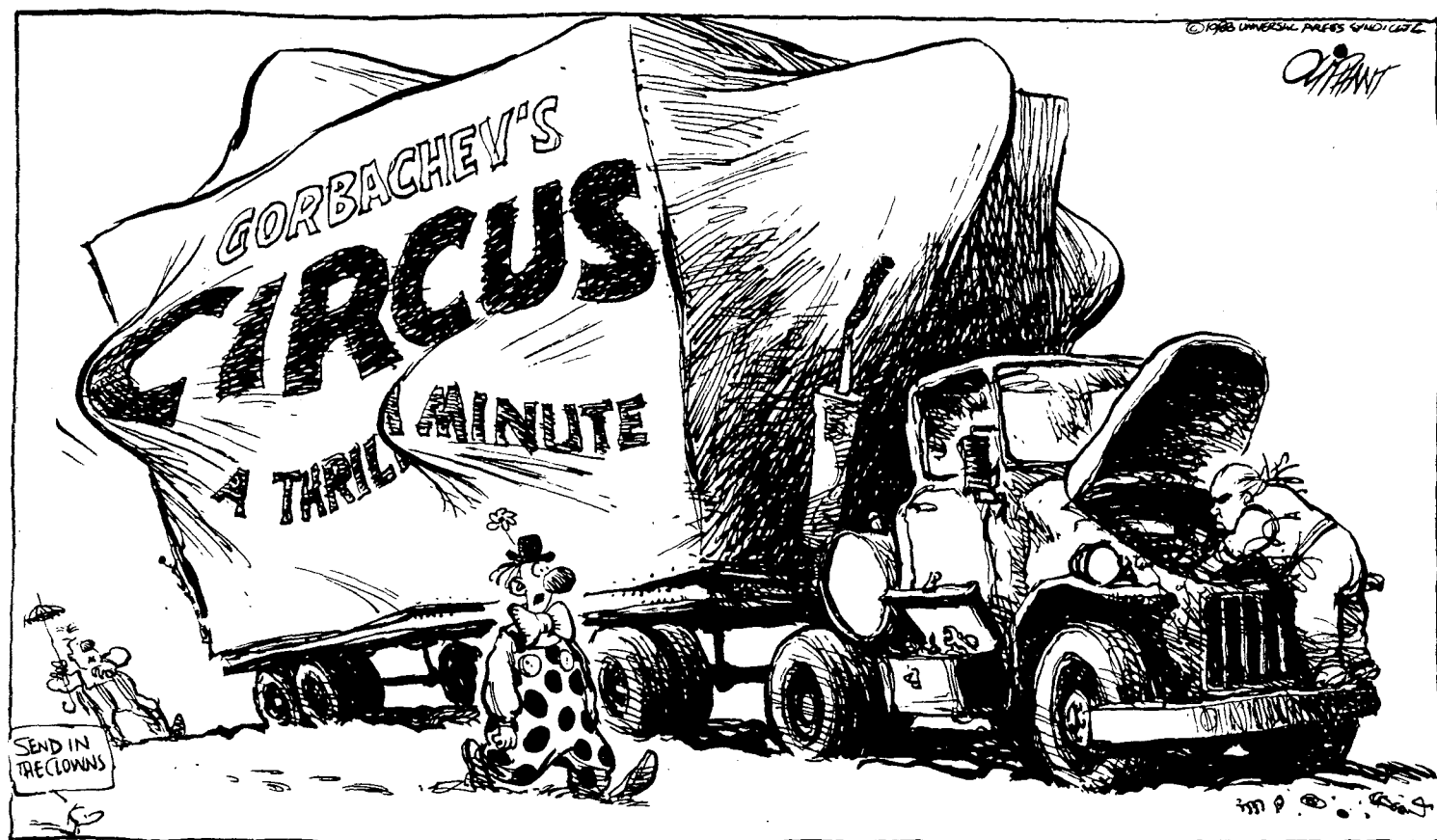
Compounding Dinkins' problems is the contentious relationship between the city's Jewish population and the more militant segments of the black activist community. The candidate needs the energy and street-level know-how of those organizers to help promote his campaign among those types of people who Smith noted were so essential in Washington's Chicago victory. But Dinkins' overtures to the city's powerful Jewish electorate has disenchanted many of those activists.

The publisher of a militant African-American-owned weekly said, "Dinkins is so concerned about showing how reasonable he is and how anti-Semitic he's not, the man has almost completely forgotten where his bread is buttered. Why is he bragging about denouncing Farrakhan, when his core constituency looks to Farrakhan as a hero? Who is he trying to please?" The publisher, who wished to remain anonymous, said, "Somebody should tell Dinkins that he's the only candidate in the Democratic primary who is not of the Jewish faith." □

EDITORIAL

IN THESE TIMES

"...with liberty and justice for all"



'SIR, THE BEAR IS LOOSE...'

Communism's crisis, socialism's opportunity

Socialism, everyone agrees, is in crisis. No one seems to know what the concept means anymore. As a political movement, both in the East and in the West, disorientation reigns. The central and most obvious reason for this has been the glaring failure of Communism—what the Soviets call “real existing socialism”—in the information age.

A command economy and one-party rule got Soviet Communists through the years of forced industrialization and World War II in seemingly good condition. But in the postindustrial age of computerization and universal communication, the stifling conformity of centralized decision-making that had sufficed to maintain basic production caused a deadening stagnation that left the Communist world further and further behind the West. Or as Karl Marx would say, Soviet relations of production, no longer compatible with the already-developed forces of production, have become all-too-obvious fetters. And so, in the words of the *Communist Manifesto*, “They had to burst asunder.”

The development drive: The ideal of socialism in the days before the Russian Revolution was far different than under “real existing socialism.” This was not simply because all earlier socialists had understood political and economic democracy to be essential elements of a socialist society, but more fundamentally because the function of socialism changed when the Bolsheviks seized power in 1917. For Lenin, and then Stalin, socialism was a means to the rapid, ruthless development of Soviet productive forces, and not, as Marx wrote in *Capital*, the means to a “higher form of society,” based on a highly developed industrial system, “in which the full and free development of every individual forms the ruling principle.” In short, “real existing socialism” has served much the same purpose that real existing laissez-faire capitalism served in the 19th century—the driven development of an industrial base—the difference being that the struggle for democracy proceeded apace with the development of industrial capitalism in the 19th century, but has only recently emerged in the Communist world.

But in the past five years the need for a more open and democratic society has become apparent to some Communist leaders, and the popular struggle for democracy has emerged with a vengeance almost everywhere in the Communist bloc. Disaffection with the Communist Party in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe had, of course, long been pandemic. Until recently, however, the general mood, reflecting a sense of hopelessness, was passive. With the most obvious exception of Solidarity in Poland, it generally took the form of foot-dragging and morbid jokes.

But once the possibility of change was opened up by Mikhail Gorbachov's espousal of *glasnost* and *perestroika*, rejection of Communist leadership and policies took a multitude of forms. These ranged from rejection of Communist candidates in Soviet elections to demands of various ethnic minorities, most notably the Baltic republics, for true autonomy, and from the fledgling democracy movement in China to the formation of the first non-Communist government in Eastern Europe since the early days of the Cold War.

In the West, and especially in the United States, all of this has been seen not only as a failure of socialism, but also as a vindication and victory of corporate capitalism. But while the crisis of world Communism might be seen as a victory for the West, it is less a vindication of corporate capitalism than an unprecedented opening of possibility for democratic socialism.

The reasons for this are twofold. First, because society's responsibility for the health, education, housing and employment of the population is an accepted—indeed demanded—principle throughout the Communist bloc. Second, because the centralized bureaucracies that characterize advanced corporate capitalism, as well as Communism, are the primary targets of popular disdain among those in the East who wish to escape the stifling conformity imposed from above.

Then, too, corporate capitalism as we know it is a failing system. It has had the good luck to exist alongside “real existing socialism.” But once deprived of that comparison—looked at in its own light and not simply as an alternative to a system obviously in crisis—a less attractive picture emerges.

Our reality: We are, after all, a country in which the gap between rich and poor is growing apace, with billionaires at one end and an increasing percentage of Americans living in poverty. A recent Gallup Poll found that a quarter of all adults, and a third of non-whites, had a “close relative” who is “living in poverty now.” Our public education system is in shambles. Affordable housing, not just for the poor but for all working Americans, is becoming scarcer. Adequate health care is available to fewer and fewer Americans, and the threat of financial ruin as a result of major illness faces even those relatively well off. And, of course, our environment is constantly being ravaged by corporate greed. Meanwhile, our public resources are directed primarily toward the military, with some \$200 billion a year allegedly going for our defense, but in fact helping only to continue the degradation of our society.

This is a picture not of a healthy social system, but of one with a false set of priorities imposed by those who place corporate profitability above social welfare as their operative principle. It is a system based on private greed rather than social need. And although it has done better in providing for its people than any other we have yet known, the resources we have created could and should now be put to better use.

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LETTERS

Defective parents

I JUST READ "STANDARDIZED PESTS" BY LARRY DOYLE (ITT, July 19), and the only word I can think of to express my feelings is outrage. This man does not seem to know squat about what he's trying to address. He calls the kids "stupid" and "thoroughly brutal idiots." I would like to know if this man has had any classes in or studied any child psychology.

Children get their IQs and thinking ability from their parents, not from themselves. These "thoroughly brutal idiots" probably, if you were to check, have parents that are "thoroughly brutal idiots." Their "ignorance from deep within" is from the roots of their learning: parents.

And what's this about little Emma? Just because the average Japanese student would have four candy bars in his pocket doesn't mean that Emma's necessarily stupid. It's the educational system that's stupid. Where else but from school and parents is she supposed to learn abstract reasoning?

And what about Bryan? He ties his shoes by twirling his laces. Who didn't teach him to tie his shoes? Who didn't sit the boy down and teach him how to function? What was his role model? Who is probably as dumb as Bryan? His parents.

"Which, I guess we can all agree, is that they're stupid." This sentence shouldn't refer to the kids; it should refer to the educational system. The student is only as smart as the teacher.

And about Doyle's little quiz questions—which aren't so little. What's with the trivia? Most people under the age of 30 are not going to know or care about Jimmy Durante and The Schnozzolla or about Abbott and Costello. Now it's *Roseanne* and Looney Tunes.

Have you taught the kids about Hitler or Karl Marx? I learned about them when I was in the sixth grade. Why don't you teach your sixth-graders this?

And about Frankie Avalon being a Mouseketeer—what do these 12-year-olds really care about the Mouseketeers? Today Annette is doing peanut butter commercials. And about the "Oscar Meyer Weiner" song, are you pro-TV? The only way they're going to know this is to be very avid TV watchers.

These kids are only 12. How are they supposed to know about the Bay of Pigs or the Gulf of Tonkin if you don't teach them? Teach the kids and they'll learn.

What do the kids care about Howdy Doody? Where is knowing this going to get you in life? When these kids are 30, they aren't going to have to know anything about Howdy Doody. Why should these kids name the Beatles? Have them name Bon Jovi's group. I bet they would know that. Only the old people who were there care about the Beatles. To kids, they're some tapes under "Pop-Rock" on the shelf in the local tape store.

What's the sense in dwelling in the past? I'm a kid myself (although slightly older than these sixth-graders Mr. Doyle talks about). I'm 16, and I know what these kids think because I remember what I thought. If they're anything like I was when I was in school, they think that school is stupid. Not because we are forced to go, but because

when we're there, most of the things happening put us to sleep. Remember what it was like for you in school? Did you enjoy the lectures and the non-activity? I say we should take a look at the Japanese and see what they've done; we should also take heart in the fact that averages are up. The average kid today is smarter than the average kid of yesterday—you. Maybe kids should run the world. I don't think we would muddle it up so much.

Aaron Turpen
Alpine, Utah

Defective children

I WAS GLAD TO SEE LARRY DOYLE HAVE THE NERVE to come right out and say what has been for a long time the simple truth about American schoolchildren: "They're stupid" (ITT, July 19).

The government and the media have always done a masterful job of hinting at this in apologetic ways, mostly grounding it in the horrifying idea that the U.S. could be falling behind other countries in capitalistic prowess and materialistic consumption as a result.

Another very important point that manages to stay hidden is what a largely dubious myth is propagated by the popular contention that our nation's school systems simply aren't up to par. Having some familiarity with educational psychology—at one point even starting graduate studies in the field—I know there is a lot of evidence to suggest that decades of research have developed philosophies and techniques of teaching that should ideally be turning American children into learning machines.

The problem lies in the fact that children learn most of what they know once they leave the school doors and meet with the ubiquitous world of capitalistic commercialism and its unrelenting bombardments from every sector. Although it does not account for everything children learn outside of school, the role the commercial media play in affecting what they carry around in their heads can hardly be ignored. Let's face it, MTV hosts are as live as can be right there in the living room, whereas those crusty old dead people who made history require some effort to be known.

I found it hard to gauge Doyle's satiric intent—maybe because I also flunked his little exam on cultural and political history. His statements reflect more reality than he might care to acknowledge.

Kale Baldock
Manhattan, Kansas

Defective logic

LARRY DOYLE'S ARTICLE, "STANDARDIZED PESTS," (ITT, July 19) was at once entertaining, distressing and amusing, and I felt myself agreeing with most of what he said. However, he is perhaps adding to the confusion of our young ones if the two sample "multiple guess" questions (statements?) are indicative of the rest of his "20 Standardized Questions." Questions of this type are like a written Rorschach test, where there is no correct answer. Responses received depend on the viewpoint of the test taker (correct responses on the viewpoint of the test maker) and might be useful in plotting psychological profiles, but shouldn't be used to determine levels of learning, intelligence or reasoning power. (The only "correct" answer to a Rorschach sample is, "It looks like someone dropped ink on the paper and folded it in half!" If you say this, they won't show you any more.)

The article states that the "correct" answers are e and b, but selection of the appropriate analogue will vary depending on the way in which the opening relationship is interpreted. For instance, in question 12, "The Schnozzolla" was not Jimmy Durante's comedy partner, so how could e (Abbott: Costello) be correct? On the other hand, if the context is viewed to represent a person and his nickname, b (Elvis: The Pelvis), c (Frank Sinatra: Ol' Blue Eyes) and d (Mel Torme: The Velvet Fog) would all be correct. Refining this further, and using only nicknames derived from anatomical features, only b and c would fit. If "The Schnozzolla" is viewed as Durante's schtick, then a (Soupy Sales: Cream Pies) would be correct. (I also believe that "Schnozzolla" [sic] is misspelled here, but I leave that debate to the purists.)

Tom Andries
South Bend, Ind.

Defective bars

LARRY DOYLE, IN HIS EDUCATION ARTICLE (ITT, July 19), leaves us wondering if there is hope for our students. He seems to think not. But from his description of this interaction with his student Emma, I do have hope.

—How many candy bars can you buy with a quarter?

—None, she says.

—But they only cost a nickel.

—What's wrong with them? she asks.

I interpret Emma's response as demonstrating intelligence and critical thinking.

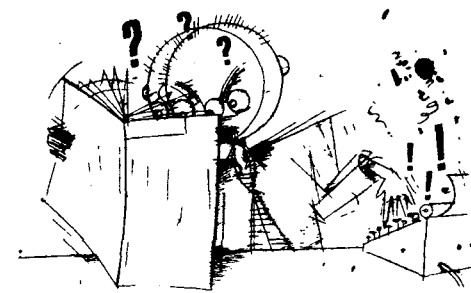
She demonstrates that she is attempting to fit the information she is presented with what she already knows about the world. Isn't she correct to question the possibility of a five-cent candy bar? And if it exists, isn't she correct to question its worth? Doyle's hypothetical Japanese student may answer "correctly," but wouldn't such a student also likely accept unquestioningly any information provided by an authoritative source such as newspapers, advertisements and our government?

Doyle misinterprets Piaget's theory of developmental stages. The use of the concrete is not given up when one is capable of abstract thinking. The connection between the abstract and the concrete is vital at any age. Emma has abstracted from her concrete experiences to interpret the given information.

But where Doyle and I see most differently, I think, is in our view of what good teaching is and how one treats one's students. Doyle seems to think good students are ones who know what he knows, or what he thinks they should know. He shows little respect for his students or for what they do know, as is illustrated by his constant degrading remarks about their intelligence. I, being a believer in democracy and socialism, believe good education, like a good society, starts with respect for one another, and education starts with respecting our students for the knowledge and experience they have, and helping them to build on that knowledge. Who could learn from a teacher who spends all his time letting you know how stupid you are?

Nicholas Meier
Aptos, Calif.

Larry Doyle replies: Receiving letters like this is what makes writing satire worthwhile.



Editor's note: Please keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we may have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.

SYLVIA



by Nicole Hollander



Lionel Delvingne

By Harold Meyerson

THE NIGHT GEORGE BUSH WAS ELECTED president, Michael Harrington, in Los Angeles for a national board meeting of the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA), attended an expect-the-worst election night party at the home of former Santa Monica Mayor Ruth Goldway and her husband, economist/planner Derek Shearer. The house was filled with leaders of California left communities, most of them veterans of the '60s, few of them actually DSA members. As Mike entered, Ruth welcomed him with a hug and said, "Here's the man who *should* be president."

It was, I suspect, the nearest thing to a point of political consensus you could find in any cross section of radicals and liberals like those gathered that evening in Santa Monica. As such, it was a testament to the political leadership that Harrington, who succumbed to cancer on July 31 at the age of 61, had exercised over the preceding three decades. For 20 years, since the death of Norman Thomas, Mike had been America's pre-eminent socialist. Like Thomas—and Eugene Debs before him—Harrington served as a moral tribune for a broad community by virtue of the democratic and egalitarian content of his socialist message, and by his ceaseless commitment to spreading it.

New thinking: But Harrington assumed the mantle of Debs and Thomas at a time when socialists had lost their sense of direction and agency, both domestically and abroad. To his moral urgency, then, Harrington had to add an analytic depth and breadth, reformulating the project even as he was inspiring people to take it up, redefining it on the run. His tenure coincided, too, with the fragmentation of what had once been a class-based left into any number of distinct causes and constituencies, and he played a seminal role in shaping the post-New Deal coalition politics of American liberalism.

There was another measure of Mike's leadership: his capacity to change people's lives. At least once, with the War on Poverty, Mike's writing had directly influenced gov-

Michael Harrington, an American socialist

ernment policies. But his speeches made people alter their lives. Mike had learned public speaking from Max Shachtman, an old-guard socialist who had learned *his* speaking from Leon Trotsky. A Harrington speech was witty, wide-ranging, passionate, allusive; he mixed analytic power and moral urgency at a level unmatched by any other speaker in contemporary America.

Mike's speeches were Marxist in the sense that he decoded the capitalist logic behind discrete social ills, sketching a vision of radical democracy and suggesting strategies for the transformation of society. The effect on the listener was of a series of recognitions.

"You can waken men only by dreaming their dreams more clearly than they can dream them themselves," wrote the 19th-century Russian revolutionary Alexander Herzen. To a generation of American leftists—from the students who founded Students for a Democratic Society to the community organizers of the '80s—Mike provided that clarity of vision.

In an age of specialization, when radical analysis is characteristically applied to the margins and interstices of civilization, Harrington addressed the most fundamental social arrangements, the new world order and the news of the day. He would entertain the arguments of capitalism's defenders, assail them with passion and with fact, bundle up the best of disparate left traditions and apply them in an utterly American idiom. His point was not merely to convey his ideas of socialism, but to convey the intellectual rigor, the excitement, the urgency—at some subliminal level, the poetry—of being a socialist. At bottom, and this is why he spoke so often in so many presumably unpromising venues, he wanted nothing less than your life, your commitment to a ven-

ture whose success, he said over and over, was not inevitable, but merely necessary.

Bowery boy: Like Norman Thomas, Harrington came to socialism from the religious left. Born to an upper-middle-class Irish-American family in St. Louis in 1928, Harrington tried both Yale Law and the graduate English department at the University of Chicago in the late '40s before coming to New York to be a poet. Mike's New York consisted of the *Catholic Worker* and the tail end of Greenwich Village Bohemia. There, under the tutelage of Dorothy Day, Harrington lived and worked in the squalor and poverty of the Bowery. Unable after a two-year struggle to sustain a religious faith, Harrington left the church and the *Worker*, retaining the moral urgency that had led him there.

Even before he had left the Bowery, Mike had joined a political sect smaller and more marginal than the *Worker*. The socialist youth movement of the '50s never had more than a couple hundred members, but it—and, more particularly, Harrington—helped lay the groundwork for the eruptions of the '60s. At last summer's tribute to Harrington at New York's Roseland Ballroom, Eleanor Holmes Norton reminisced over the effect his speaking tours had as the '50s began to recede. "Journeying from campus to campus, from Swarthmore and Antioch to Reed and Oberlin," Norton said, Harrington "would appear once or twice a year, a piper not only of socialist ideas but of literary ideas and of fertile ideas about racism, the labor movement, Democratic and Republican party politics."

Harrington's ties to the campus left were damaged, though, at the very moment that that left began to grow in size and militancy. At Students for a Democratic Society's famous Port Huron conference in 1962, he

engaged the movement's young leadership in a fierce conflict over what he regarded as their insufficiently critical view of Third World left-authoritarian regimes. Harrington was quick to regret not the substance of his position but the vehemence with which he descended upon the SDS leadership; he later came to feel he had thereby contributed to the isolation of the New Left.

The same year as Port Huron, Mike authored the book that was to change his life. *The Other America* was both the most mainstream of Mike's 16 books and, ironically, the one that most vindicated classic Marxian epistemology. Forty million Americans were living in poverty when Harrington proclaimed their existence. They lived in plain view of the rest of the nation; it took a socialist to find them. Once he had, the government declared "unconditional war on poverty" and proceeded to wage a very conditional one. At the outset of the War on Poverty, in 1964, the administration offered Harrington the opportunity to settle down as an in-house intellectual. He settled down only long enough to help draft some of the initial programs. Norman Thomas had turned 80 that year, and Mike was by then his heir apparent as the leader of American socialism—not a position that went with an assistant secretary's job.

But the tight little movement that Harrington came to chair of the Socialist Party after Thomas' death in 1968 refracted within it many of the conflicts and divisions that were rending the Democratic Party in that watershed year. Like Thomas, Harrington had been a longtime critic of American intervention in Vietnam, but by the early '70s he found himself in a minority in an organization that supported the war. Rather than acquiesce in the Socialist Party's neutrality during the Nixon-McGovern election, Harrington resigned and founded the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC).

With an initial membership of several hundred—back to the dimensions of the '50s left—DSOC was, in Harrington's words,

Continued on page 22

Cow Milk, Not Dow Milk: The Greening of the Third World

We've all read about big polluting corporations that run off to Third World countries because they see economies too poor and desperate for dollars and jobs to raise a fuss when the companies start poisoning their air, land and water. Here's how that process looks, close up.

When I go back to the Third World country where I grew up—namely southern Ireland—the last 10 miles along the road from the Cork airport takes me through the lush farmlands stretching between the village of Killeagh and the ancient town of Youghal. But there was nothing ancient about the big signs planted in the fields when I drove through the other day: "COW MILK NOT DOW MILK" and "AGENT ORANGE WORKS — ASK MERRELL DOW."

What was this? All I could see were cows in the pastures that run down to Youghal Bay. I soon found out. Unless local protest forces a climb-down, that rural Irish scene will soon be interrupted by a chemical factory pumping 100,000 gallons of treated effluent into the Womanagh River every day, and an incinerator chimney 80 feet high, thus providing the most conspicuous landmark in an area famed for its beauty ever since Edmund Spenser fell asleep writing *The Faerie Queene* (and genocidal anti-Irish military tracts) at Myrtle Grove, five miles further east.

When they first planned this project, officials at Merrell Dow (or its parent company, Dow Chemical) must have felt like foxes being graciously ushered into the chicken coop with instructions to keep the eggs warm. A number of years ago an Irish state body, the Industrial Development Authority (IDA), decided that the best thing for an area making most of its money off tourism, agriculture and fishing would be to have international pharmaceutical companies settle around Cork Harbor. Many duly did so, lured by promises that they would not have to pay any local taxes, would have much of the cost of construction underwritten by the Irish taxpayer, and would be able to "repatriate" all their profits without any local interference.

Equally alluring was the fact that Ireland at that time—and almost equally so today—had none of the regulations and state and federal bodies that were beginning—in the U.S. in the '70s—albeit feebly, to press the pharmaceutical companies to clean up their acts. Some 22 chemical companies settled around Cork Harbor.

Then the IDA decided to spend \$150 million of the taxpayers' money to build a special new industrial park to lure further pharmaceutical companies. They put it at Ringaskiddy, near Cork, and it has been a colossal flop. Only two small companies have settled there.

The Merrell Dow people saw Cork as nothing but trouble and headed up the coast until their eyes fell happily on the meadows of the Womanagh. In their mind's eye they saw a "Green Acre site" to rival those tidy corporate headquarters of the big pharmaceutical companies along Route 1 around Princeton, N.J. They proposed investing \$90 million or so in a factory and incinerator to produce, among other things, an antihistamine called Terfenadine.

The IDA was not bothered by the fact

that Merrell Dow wanted to build a plant in a prime agricultural area. The bureaucrats in this government body were desperate for a feather to stick in their caps after the disaster of Ringaskiddy. They told Merrell Dow that they had no problem with the proposal and that no local opposition need be anticipated.

Double standard: Irksome procedures such as baseline studies to determine environmental impact were put aside. The Cork County Council issued planning permission in six weeks flat. To get planning agreement for an equivalent venture in the U.S. would take at least two years.

But there was a hitch. The IDA could not deliver on its promise that there would be no local trouble. The IDA, as it admits, has no environmentally qualified person on its staff, even though its officials tour the world begging companies to come and settle in Ireland. The citizens of east Cork and west Waterford took a markedly keener interest in their prospective corporate neighbor.

Soon such unpleasant episodes on the corporate curriculum vitae of the Dow chemical company as its manufacture of Agent Orange and its refusal in the early '80s to let the EPA inspect its Midland plant in Michigan for dioxin contamination became common currency in this bit of Ireland, as did the distribution by Richardson-Merrell (from which Merrell Dow also sprang) of thalidomide. In June of this year the EPA named 13 Dow factories in connection with the release of carcinogens into the atmosphere. In three cases the contaminant was methylene chloride, a chemical that would be used at the Killeagh factory.

The farmers around Killeagh point out that in summer there's not much water in the Womanagh. In fact, the water barely comes up to your ankles. Thus this watercourse will, in the warm months, be carrying nothing but industrial sewage through the meadows. In winter the Womanagh backs up and floods these same fields, dumping the waste from Terfenadine manufacture—which is contraindicated for young children and pregnant women—onto the grass and thus into the milk and butter consumed in the region. Tidal patterns in Youghala Bay would send the effluent up the tidal Blackwater and along the coast into waters to which Bord Failte, the Irish tourist board, spends a great deal of money each year to attract anglers and tourists.

Merrell Dow's people on the spot have not exactly helped their cause. Lodged in Youghal, not far from where Oliver Cromwell set up headquarters for his rampages three and a half centuries ago, they have veered between the hardnosed stance for which their corporate parent, Dow Chemical, has long been notorious, and rather unsuccessful efforts to court public opinion.

It has not escaped notice that though Merrell Dow has pledged absolute frankness about its plans for the site, officials have refused to disclose any details about the large incinerator, which is capable of sending dioxins across a large stretch of the Irish countryside.

Like pharmaceutical company officials everywhere, they have sworn that the treated effluent will be cleaner than tap

water and have had the usual consequent problems explaining why, if that is the case, they cannot simply recycle the wastewater instead of dumping it in the Womanagh. (Answer: you can do this, but it costs a lot of money.) A glossy brochure dispatched to every household in Youghal, which Merrell Dow would like to make a company town, assured the populace that the plant would have no unhealthy side effects, and this naturally sent suspicions soaring that the reverse was obviously the case. After

The writer discovers that corporate polluters have their sights set on his "Third World" Irish homeland.

seven centuries of colonial occupation, the Irish have a tendency not to believe what they are told. Particularly stupid new arrivals think they are witnessing obtuseness and make jokes about Irish blarney.

The Merrell Dow affair has become a political minefield. There are some well-organized groups of farmers and concerned citizens fighting the company, and they aren't without political clout. Green politics have come to Ireland, as they have to the rest of Europe, both east and west. Ireland has one Green member of its parliament, the Dail. For a long time the IDA and Merrell Dow claimed that opposition was confined to a few self-interested farmers and a handful of enviro-cranks. Then a survey commissioned from the foremost Irish polling organization, MRBI, showed that the population of the area, including Killeagh itself, was against the project by a margin of two to one. In the midst of the recent election the Irish prime minister, Charles Haughey, said the project would not go ahead unless

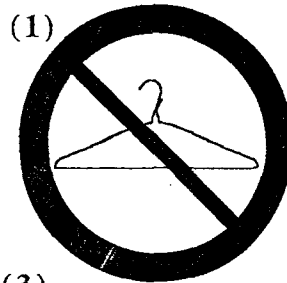
all parties, including local residents, were satisfied by safety and health precautions. **Power play:** Merrell Dow has now decided to force the issue. Two weeks ago, its local officials announced through its PR firm in Cork that they were about to take up their option on the farmland and in September would commence construction. This threat to pre-empt due process—court cases against the project are pending in the Irish Supreme Court and in European courts—is causing particular outrage. There's a strong possibility that resistance to the project could turn ugly.

The fierce local opposition is a very important development. This is a poor area where unemployment is high and emigration to the U.K. and the U.S. endemic. But with Merrell Dow the IDA has found that it can no longer plant down any company on the landscape under the slogan "Jobs at any cost, growth at any price." This used to be the way any project could be steamrolled through. But people are getting wise. Local opponents have been able to point out that environment-based jobs in agriculture, fishing and tourism generate \$194 million annually within a 10-mile radius of the site. This income and these jobs would be threatened by Merrell Dow, which will generate at most \$4 million annually in salaries and service. There won't be jobs for young Irish graduates, and a Merrell Dow official admitted that the number of laboring jobs likely to come to Youghal would reach the grand total of six.

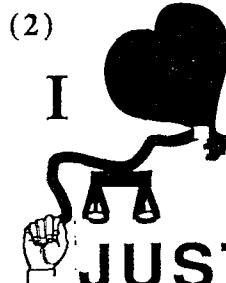
A study by Ireland's Economic Social Research Institute has just shown that if the present rising curve of profit repatriation by multinationals based in the Irish Republic continues, the IDA's tax treats for corporate guests will produce no net benefit for the economy. The study recommends investment in indigenous resource-based industries. Companies like Merrell Dow hoping to hunker down peacefully may have to go to Deng's China, where pollution is no problem. Here in Ireland the companies are finding that even poor people want to breathe clean air, graze their livestock on safe grass and fish in untroubled waters. ■

Distributed by the L.A. Weekly.

WEARING T-SHIRTS IS NOT ENOUGH!



(3) U.S. out of my womb!



JUSTICE

(4) (in red, a Chinese translation of the quote: "Give me liberty, or give me death")

- Patrick Henry, 1776

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By Tom Engelhardt

Eternal invasion of privacy: the good, the ad and the ugly

ADS ARE EVERYWHERE. WE MAY not know exactly how many intersect our lives each day—5,000 is the latest estimate. We may not have read scholarly studies on the “ineffectiveness” of ads, on the inability of people to recall ones seen only seconds earlier, but we are at least faintly aware of how we edit ads out of our consciousness, of how we live with ads by dismissing them, deriding them or simply amusing ourselves with them.

Yet the more we tune ads out, the more they penetrate our lives, and the more they penetrate our lives, the more puzzling the ad enterprise becomes. It is as if advertising were using the averted stare that tune-out implies to slip into new nooks and crannies in our world.

That advertising is a great colonizing force in our era should be a commonplace, but the everywhere-ness of ads seems to rob us of the ability to grasp just what advertising is. Unable to escape the reach of the ad, we are hard put to find a vantage point from which to observe the ad enterprise.

Commercial potential: Curiously enough, one way to gain some distance on it is to become a regular reader of the ad industry magazine, *Advertising Age*. With its tabloid-sized, industrial blue, white and black front cover, its CEOs and company presidents staring out at you, *Advertising Age* seems an unlikely place for a new perspective on advertising.

Its regular features like “TV Power Shares” and its special reports like “Grocery Marketing” are unlikely to inspire curiosity in a non-marketeer. Only its enormous, glossy ads are sure to catch an outsider’s eye. In these, sexy ladies and sports celebrities jostle with high-tech graphic displays to promote the desirability of sundry magazines, TV stations, newspapers and communications empires as outlets for advertisers’ needs.

There’s something unnerving in an ad journal being a vehicle for stunning ads that badger those most committed to ads to advertise. It’s as if one has suddenly stumbled across the spot in space where advertising mysteriously loops back to fuse with itself. Yet *Ad Age* is unnerving in another, larger, sense as well. Unlike other trade publications, it lacks, at least in its collective reportorial imagination, all limits. In encapsulating the world of the ad, *Ad Age* also encapsulates the reach of the ad, and the ad’s reach turns out to be boundless.

They’ve got the look: At first the magazine’s concentration on the ad angle on all subjects only highlights our dismissive mind-set toward advertising. (After all, if the Chernobyl reactor goes up, ad budgets for tourism in Europe should not as-

sumedly be our primary concern.) In fact, everything about *Ad Age* conspires to encourage us to read it as a spectacle of the superficial, callow and peripheral. *Ad Age* seems at first only to remind us of how curiously insubstantial ads really are. They have the “look,” but not of anything in particular. What weight they carry seems borrowed from the products they promote, and their very lightness seems to remove all weight from the \$100 billion-plus advertising industry as well.

In this fashion, *Ad Age* takes us quickly to the limits of our everyday thoughts about advertising—and then beyond, for ever so slowly,

reading it undermines our comforting insistence on our own centrality to our world. True, in *Advertising Age* what we would normally consider the “content,” the essential core of any subject, is never discussed. TV

ADVERTISING

reviews zero in on audience-share percentages, not program quality. Coverage of magazines focuses on “eye-catching editorial environments,” not the nature of the articles. Music pieces describe the cash nexus, not the sound.

It’s easy enough to dismiss this as further evidence—should anyone

need it—of the essential insubstantiality of the ad. If, however, one assumes instead that *Ad Age* is recording the ways in which the content of reality is being ordered in our age, then the eye-catching editorial environment, the cash nexus and audience-share percentages come to seem central to a new reality overshadowing our “normal” world. And our world seems strangely robbed of content, with us little more than surfaces on which advertising (and its sponsors) are intent on playing out their definitions of what is essential and what is significant.

The incredible, barely containable energy one feels in the pages of *Ad*

Age is persuasive in this regard. It is an energy, an intensity out of all proportion even to the goals consumer capitalism sets for the ad. In fact, it is hardly possible to flip a page without seeing expansive evidence of advertising’s great utopian project—to leave no space unoccupied. What *Ad Age* makes apparent is that, to the ad enterprise, any space free of ads and under our control is, by definition, threateningly empty.

In the beginning: Since advertising agencies first began to put images of their sponsor’s products on the sides of barns and on boulders visible from the windows of passing trains, they have constantly sought out new surfaces for display. In so doing, advertising has faced two problems. First, some of the space it sought to occupy was already occupied. So advertising became our century’s equivalent of those Christian missionaries who helped open



© 1989 Peter Hannan

up the Third World for the great 19th-century European colonial projects. In search of souls, the missionaries assumed that all space without God was functionally empty and so must, in effect, be emptied in order to be filled with their God. Advertising has had an analogous mission to perform as part of the imperial drive of consumer capitalism.

Second, much of what advertising sought to occupy was unsegmented space—space not necessarily thought of as space. One of corporate consumerism's great tasks in our time was the enclosure of this space. Almost all such common space has by now been redefined as consumer space, corporatized and colonized by advertising. Some small segments of this partitioned space have even been returned to the public for a price as "free" space, that is, space free of ads.

And yet, no corporate promise of free space, no matter the purchase price, seems to hold against advertising's colonizing drive. Typical is the VCR experience. From approximately 1950 on, the TV became the major force through which corporate consumerism has colonized our at-home time by turning it into viewing time. What was to be viewed, it turned out, was the Ad, which might be said to have colonized the zone TV created in our time. In recent years the VCR has been sold to consumers as a way to buy back a part of that space, a way to recreate a new ad-free "private" viewing space. Now, however, with 56 percent of U.S. households owning at least one VCR, the ad (as meticulously reported in *Ad Age*) is once again creeping up on the address space we purchased.

Chrysler helped break the ice by inserting a 45-second Lee Iacocca "tribute" to Vietnam veterans at the front of the videocassette of *Platoon* (part of the launching of its new Jeep Eagle division), and others soon followed. At the same time, according to *Ad Age*, ads also spread experimentally onto the seven-by-four-inch cover space of the boxes that hold the cassettes. Adcorp, the company responsible for this marketing idea, says it has "signed about 9,000 independent outlets in 35 states, representing more than 20 million boxes nationwide" to try these "Vidcotaggs."

By year's end 1988, more complex video experiments were in progress. For "The Eight-Week Cholesterol Cure" video cassette, for example, five advertisers, including Pam cooking spray and Worthington Foods' Morningstar Farms Scramblers egg substitute, were trying out not only ads on the tape or box cover but redeemable coupons in the package itself.

The address movie channels are evidently soon to face a similar assault. Undoubtedly, new, more specialized, technologized space will then be segmented off and offered "ad-free" to consumers. But what advertising has already conquered and settled is unlikely to be won back.

In the larger sense, there may be no such thing as a failed experiment in advertising. Whether ad experiments "work" or not (whether anyone can even tell or not), in our time advertising has rarely been dislodged from a space it entered.

Colonial style: The ad enterprise's colonial drive assaults geography on the grandest scale, by attempting to remove whatever boundaries to the ad still exist in the world. One could almost hear the cheers in *Ad Age* as it reported on the coming of the first International Advertising and Marketing Congress to China, a country "which once completely closed its doors to advertising," or on the first appearance of Western ads in the Soviet media, a country "historically frosty to Western marketers."

But this transformation of national into multinational space is only one aspect of advertising's colonizing drive. One can also see reflected in the pages of *Ad Age* an ongoing, industrywide drive to redefine all "space." The intensity of thought that goes, for instance, into pondering how to hack previously unimaginable space out of the ether is eerily impressive. Behind this effort lies a problem that, by frustrating the ad, helps power the ad industry to a sort of creative frenzy in the consumerized heartlands of the First World.

In recent years, the most obvious spaces in our society have been filled to saturation (and beyond) with advertising's images. As a result, we have now entered a Baroque Age of ads, and advertising is forced to "discover" new space in unimaginably small or marginal fragments.

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Take, for example, the humble parking meter. In a piece entitled "Parking meter ads find slot in urban life," *Ad Age* reports on an ongoing experiment by Warwick Ofsowitz to turn the meter into a minor outpost of the advertising enterprise, "a possibility in mankind's restless quest to conceive and perfect new advertising formats." Ofsowitz has developed—and is marketing through his Baltimore-based company, American Parking Meter Advertising—"a way of attaching messages to the tops of parking meters."

He backs up his invention with research data "showing the potential of parking-meter marketing." Men, it seems, spend an average of 12 seconds feeding money into their meters; women linger for a full 14 seconds; while the hapless pedestrian, passing five consecutively placed meter ads, needs a full 26 seconds for a walkby, long enough in each case for an "impression" to be made.

And so the object through which we rent temporary space back from the city for our car becomes itself a space to be filled (or, in this case, topped) by the ad.

The space race: Everywhere in *Ad Age* one sees signs of advertising's restless micro-search for space. Already-occupied space is no necessary barrier. Take, for instance, the mailbox. It is being progressively emptied of "mail" and filled with junk mail, turning the post office into the world's largest facilitator of advertising materials. Of these, one fast growing segment is the catalogue. (According to *Ad Age*, in 1986 the post office "shuffled 11.8 billion copies of 8,500 different catalogues through the mails.")

The catalogue as an ad form is, in turn, segmenting its own space as it proliferates, adding new forms like the "specialog" and the "videolog." At the same time, it is taking on a magazine-style format (becoming, in *Ad Age*'s phrase, a "magalog"), a look or "patina" which facilitates its further penetration of non-ad space.

Ad Age reports that catalogues have for the first time been test-marketed to a whole new range of customers in 1,000 Waldenbooks stores as well as on newsstand racks. There, sold, not given away, they undoubtedly gain an extra "patina" of non-adness. Each of these developments blurs the very adness of ads, transforming them into "real" commodities in our daily lives.

As the catalogue enters "real" space, it also becomes a good vehicle for—of all things—advertising. In the Bergdorf Goodman clothing

catalogue, right beside the models, will be an ad for, say, the newest Chrysler LeBaron. In this way, the ad's elaborate micro-segmentation of old space and its micro-penetration of new space barely keeps pace with another phenomenon, the complex interpenetration of one ad space by another.

MTV and UnNatural History: In this intense colonization in miniature, advertising not only promiscuously penetrates our space, but its own as well, creating ads inside ads. The creation of secondary and tertiary levels of ads within ad space plays with our assumption that ads are just a backdrop against which the "real" stands out. As the ads in a catalogue and the catalogue's existence on a newsstand tend to lend it an aura of non-adness, so, too, to take another small example from the pages of *Advertising Age*, does MTV's Museum of Un-Natural History play with what is and isn't an ad. The "museum" is a

"three-dimensional traveling display" offering "previews of new high-tech, lifestyle-oriented products, futurama exhibits, video art and music," with a "vid head" (a mannequin with a video monitor) for a guide.

A joint venture between MTV and Marketing Entertainment Group of America, it involves a three-tiered structure of "sponsorship," since Swatch Watch U.S.A. is the museum's "presenting sponsor" and MTV had plans to add a total of 12 to 15 "participating" or "patron" sponsors as well. The museum's mission is to travel from shopping mall to shopping mall in the service, as *Ad Age* puts it, of "sponsors eager to reach young consumers in a retail environment."

To try to unravel this for a moment: one starts with a cable TV channel that is really a music catalogue of the airwaves, playing promotional videos for buyable records, themselves set off by the patter of MTV disk jockeys and by more traditional ads, both of which seem to certify that the music videos one is watching are not ads but entertainment. This ad environment masquerading as an entertainment environment is now sponsoring another ad environment masquerading as an entertainment environment which is to be set in a mall environment of purified merchandising, the whole "tour" to be backed by \$1 million worth of "on-air promotion and local media" (including, undoubtedly, MTV itself). A human being entering this mall within a mall and ad within an ad environment might be pardoned if he or she mistook the inner space of the "museum" for "real" space and the ads within the ads alone for the real ads.

Of course, the space in which we live most of our lives is a good deal messier and less controllable than the mall environment. Nonetheless, the advertising enterprise proceeds apace, breaking down the line between the ad and us with manic energy. While, for instance, the worn ad—the sandwich board—has a long history, it is only recently that people have proved willing to pay, rather than be paid, to be the human billboards, ambulatory ads sporting an endless variety of logoized clothes for friends, neighbors and passersby.

Free to lose: A similar small-scale ad breakthrough lies in the recent willingness of parents to rent from video stores animated, feature-length ads for toys (often produced in conjunction with the companies that make the toys) as entertainment for their children. In this innocuous fashion the VCR has helped advertising establish a historic beachhead in our lives by convincing us that it is acceptable to pay to broadcast an ad—for G.I. Joe or Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles today, but undoubtedly adult products tomorrow—inside one's home. (Previously, it took the complete panoply of "free" entertainment on TV to get ads onto a screen inside the house.) As a read-

ing of *Advertising Age* makes clear, similar blurrings and reversals are now occurring in the worlds of film, music, sports and any other cultural arena one cares to mention. In each of these areas, ads are becoming less recognizably ads and, in the confusion, it is possible that we are becoming less recognizably ourselves.

In this blurring process spun off from consumer capitalism's drive to penetrate markets, to create newer, more desirous customers, the ad enterprise shows every evidence of gaining a momentum, a force of its own, one quite unintended by its creators. At least two "needs," however, hold that force in check, making its full realization hardly likely.

The first is its need for us. We do, after all, occupy our own space, and occupy that space with our own sometimes outmoded and, for that reason, resistant frameworks of thought, our own sense of how space should be used, and advertising, whatever it may become, cannot yet exist without us. So it must constantly sidle up to us, sneak in so close that sooner or later it slips under our gaze, under our very definitions of how the world works. The one thing it cannot do is simply pour itself in, unchallenged, where we already exist.

Facing us, the real means advertising has at hand to continually push forward the boundaries of its domain is not its effectiveness as a selling or persuading tool, but its "ineffectiveness"—exactly the phenomenon that most worries the ad industry and the corporations that pay its bills. "Ad clutter" and the mass tune-out by millions of the profusion of ads that surround us have been presented as advertising's great problem, its ongoing failure. But such a formulation obscures the deeper realities of the ad enterprise. After all, a truly "effective" advertising industry would leave us, the consumers, either crazed from the impulse to buy or, more realistically, in full-scale critical resistance to the enterprise itself.

It is the very ineffectiveness of advertising, the fact that the mass of ads hum along hardly noticed as individual entities, that allows the ad the possibility of creeping into every nook and cranny of our lives. Ineffectiveness, it might be said, is the camouflage under which the advertising enterprise deals with its need for us. It is through ineffectiveness that advertising flourishes, spreads, succeeds in its own terms (if not necessarily those of its corporate sponsors). Ineffectiveness is, in essence, advertising's means to a sort of quasi-independent status.

Performance anxiety: Just as advertising is not free of us, so it has been unable to free itself from the need for the Product, or simply for a subject, the subject invariably being dependent on corporate capitalism. Again, however, it is possible to think of ineffectiveness as the means by which advertising controls and limits its dependence on

Continued on page 21

In Our Image: America's Empire in the Philippines

By Stanley Karnow
Random House, 494 pp., \$24.95

Impossible Dream: The Marcoses, the Aquinos and the Unfinished Revolution

By Sandra Burton
Warner Books, 496 pp., \$24.95

The Philippines: Fire on the Rim

By Joseph Collins
Food First, 332 pp., \$9.95

By James B. Goodno

FIRST ARRIVED IN THE PHILIPPINES ON a sultry April evening in 1984. After checking into my hotel, I set out in pursuit of a meal and a beer. Tired after a nine-hour flight from Sydney and staggered by the heat, I sought something familiar rather than exotic.

In Manila's tourist belt, finding the familiar wasn't difficult. I settled on a pizza parlor where I savored the tomatoes and mozzarella, drank a cold San Miguel and listened to a rock band pounding out tunes all too familiar to anyone exposed to commercial radio in North America—or the Philippines.

Many Americans—journalists, scholars and government officials alike—start with the familiar in trying to understand and describe the Philippines. Insightful travelers quickly discover a vibrant and multi-dimensional society beneath the American veneer.

Elite street: Less astute observers get caught in the tangled web of U.S.



Gregorio del Pilar, Philippine nationalist hero killed in the war against the U.S.

Colonial currents: the Philippine tide

Philippine relations and shared experience. Rather than view the Philippines on its own terms, they impose their own ideas and frame of reference. They listen to Manila-based Americans and members of the Westernized elite, stay in comfortable hotels and dine in fine Western restaurants catering to expats, dips and affluent Filipinos.

Stanley Karnow recognizes the danger of viewing the Philippines from an entirely American perspective early in his ambitious new history, *In Our Image: America's Empire*

in the Philippines.

"While the United States left a more durable imprint on the Philippines than the Europeans did in their colonies, the impact was only superficial," Karnow writes. "Nevertheless, both Americans and Filipinos have diligently clung to the illusion that they share a common public philosophy—when, in reality, their values are dramatically dissimilar."

Yet Karnow never quite succeeds in bringing out the truth behind his observation. In Karnow's Philippines, the important players are mostly rich, powerful Filipinos and foreigners.

Common Filipinos—the vast majority that has long lived in abject poverty—merit little attention. Poor people's movements—the labor movement of the early years of U.S. rule, the socialist- and communist-led peasant movements of the '30s, the peasant guerrillas of World War II and the '50s and the modern New People's Army—receive only cursory mentions.

Despite these oversights, Karnow reaches a sound conclusion about the current insurgency and the weak response of the government and the elite. He notes that several of the Philippine army officers he saw "understood that the struggle against the communists was not merely a military effort. But the economic, social and political components of a progressive program were missing—partly because of resistance from the ... landowners and also because of Cory's reticence to promote dynamic reforms."

The middle crass: Karnow is far from the worst example of an author ignoring the political movements and potential. Sandra Burton, who covered the Philippines for *Time* magazine shows little understanding of Filipinos in her recent book, *Im-*

Aquinos and the Unfinished Revolution.

Burton imposes the views and aspirations of what she calls "middle class" Filipinos on the entire nation. She obviously feels at home among her "middle class" Filipino friends. She sympathizes with their proclaimed commitment to "modera-

ASIA

tion" and democratic ways.

The author makes repeated references to "moderation" and the "middle class" until these words lose all meaning. "Moderate" comes to mean anyone who was neither a communist nor an outright fascist. "Middle class" is a catchall phrase for Filipinos living comfortably. Most of Burton's middle-class Filipinos belong to the country's political and economic elite. And many of her moderates hold political views that would put them on the right wing of our Republican Party.

Karnow, however, recognizes the greed, corruption and reactionary character of the Philippine elite. He sees the self-interest involved in the elite's break with Marcos and shift to the opposition. Though sympathetic to Cory Aquino, he refuses to fall for the democratic rhetoric of some of her backers: The treatment of the Philippine elite—in history and in current times—is one strength of Karnow's book. Unfortunately, his portrait of their foreign partners falls short of the mark.

The plunder years: The U.S. conquered the Philippines following a long and bloody war with Filipino nationalists. Karnow appreciates the brutality of the conquest, but his analysis of the following years falls flat.

Karnow highlights the racism and paternalism inherent in U.S. colonial rule, even as he gives a generally favorable account of U.S. education, public health and public works projects in the Philippines. He also dem-

onstrates the impact of political battles in the U.S. on the course of Philippine colonialism.

But Karnow downplays the economics of U.S. colonialism, a flaw rooted in his misinterpretation of the U.S. experience in the Philippines. Compared with traditional European colonialism, the U.S. experience in the Philippines almost naturally looks benign, because the U.S. experience in the Philippines wasn't a classic colonial experience.

Less than two decades after establishing control over the Philippines, the U.S. pledged the Philippines eventual independence. From that time on, the U.S. went about the task of building the foundation for a new sort of imperialism—that system we now know as "neocolonialism." The U.S. made sure the political and economic structures of an independent Philippines would welcome U.S. business, trade and military involvement. But Karnow notes the ways that the U.S. imposed and imposes itself on an "independent" Philippines late in his book and fails to give this development any historical context.

Megadose of detail: This shortcoming parallels his failure to deal sufficiently with peasant unrest during the period of direct American rule. Karnow leaves us guessing about the historic roots of the peasant rebellion of the late '40s and early '50s, and subsequently of the widespread insurgency of the '70s and '80s.

For all its flaws, Karnow's treatment of U.S. involvement in the Philippines far outstrips Burton's. Karnow provides massive doses of detail—although silly factual errors mar his account of the Marcos and Aquino eras and raise questions about the accuracy of his historical research—but he keeps some critical distance. Early in her book, Burton elucidates her naive perspective on U.S. foreign policy and Philippine society.

"Whether the fall of Marcos will, in retrospect, be seen to have ushered in an era of peaceful political change, economic growth and moral rebirth," writes Burton, "or will prove but a temporary victory for the forces of moderation and non-violence is a question with vital consequences for other societies that aspire to democracy, and for the American government, which encourages them to do so."

Joseph Collins' *The Philippines: Fire on the Rim* provides an antidote to Karnow's and Burton's elite and U.S.-oriented accounts. Collins, a senior analyst at the Institute for Food and Development Policy in San Francisco, visited the Philippines four times following the fall of Marcos and interviewed scores of people from all walks of life and of various political perspectives.

For his book, he culled from those interviews to present a cross-section of mostly Filipino views on the nation, its problems and possibilities. Collins' book provides a sense of Filipino aspirations and of the complexity of Philippine society missing from Burton's book and only hinted at in Karnow's.

Karnow highlights the racism and paternalism of U.S. colonial rule, even as he gives a favorable account of U.S. institutions in the Philippines.

James B. Goodno is *In These Times'* former Philippines correspondent and author of the forthcoming book *The Philippines: Land of Broken Promises* (Zed Books).

Rough CUTS BY JAREID

Pony Tales (THAT GREW IN THE TELLING)



Philippines

Continued from page 24

And if de la Torre serves as a sort of informal host for the film, it is haunted throughout by Jun Pala, the host of an anti-communist radio show. Pala boasts how, like Goebbels, he is waging a propaganda war—demonizing guerrillas and, more ominously, reading the names of Filipinos he believes to be NPA supporters. During the shooting of the film, one of these men, a labor organizer, was killed by the Tad Tad death squad.

Free-fire zone: In following up on this brutal murder Wild and her crew wound up in some dangerous situations. "We went to the Armed Forces of the Philippines outpost where we had heard the Tad Tads were hanging out. We pulled up in our press jeep and—like a real dodo—I turned around to the crew and told them to get their stuff ready and walked up with my cameraman. And sure enough, there were 20 Tad Tads and 20 Armed Forces of the Philippines soldiers there—and they opened fire on us.

"There were bullets pinging all over the place. And Kirk Tougas, who was the cinematographer at the time, was like cellophane on the grass; the crew disappeared into the bottom of the jeep. I was ducking, walking around telling Kirk to roll, and he was telling me in no uncertain terms what I could do with the camera, the film and everything else. The sound man had his mike up like a periscope over the side of the jeep.

"Then I realized what had happened. We had burst upon these people while they were interrogating a suspected NPA and they were torturing him at the time. Our jeep had caused a distraction and the guy had leapt out of their arms, literally. His head was gashed open. He ran past our jeep, and as he ran past they opened fire on him."

This willingness to pursue the story despite its dangers brings Wild tremendous rewards on film, allowing her to go far beyond the usual collection of juxtaposed interviews that clog many left-wing documentaries.

And having risked her life to film it, she is not prepared to let it go unseen. Although it has been broadcast on Britain's Channel 4 and distributed theatrically in Europe, she has had to turn herself into a guerrilla distributor to get it seen in North America. In Canada the television networks want no part of it. So Wild is making separate deals with repertory theaters across Canada and spending a week or so in each city prior to the screening doing anything she can to build the audience. This usually involves putting together a network of Filipinos, community activists and church groups. "The screenings turn into events a community can organize around," she says. "I like the lobby to be full of display tables. I want to see petitions signed and organizations gain new members."

Wild will be adopting the same strategy when she brings the film to the U.S. this fall. She plans to spend a month in a number of major cities, building the support for the screenings. Which means that Nettie Wild is going to visit a lot more plant gates and put together a lot more community networks. But it certainly isn't work she resists. "I made this film because people are really putting their lives on the line," she says. "I have to live up to their trust and get this story out."

Doug Smith is a Winnipeg writer and broadcaster.

Information about showings of *A Rustling of Leaves* can be obtained by writing Kalasikas Productions, 16, 2137 West 1st St., Vancouver, B.C., Canada, V6K 1E7.

Advertising

Continued from page 19

its corporate sponsors.

Certainly, no corporation is likely to accept the idea that ads are little more than an indistinguishable hum in our lives. In fact, companies constantly plan strategies that will allow their product, their ad campaign to emerge from the half-noticed collectivity of advertising. The ad enterprise uses this corporate fear of ineffectiveness as a tool to power its own colonizing drive. After all, the main way corporations combat "ad clutter" is by individually seeking newer and more intensely startling images, newer and more intense ways of stimulating desires, or new spaces in which older styles of stimulation will once again be noticeable.

Yet no matter which of these individual strategies is chosen, as soon as it "works"

and an ad becomes visible in some new way, the ad hum flows up to engulf it. And so the advertising ante is upped, and some newer, heightened level of ad intensity, some new, overlooked space must again be found. It is thus, with ad clutter and consumer tune-out yapping fast on the heels of advertising "success," that the Ad Enterprise stakes out new territory. "Ineffectiveness" turns the ad equation on its head and leaves advertising as a collectivity, though no ad agency in particular, with some control over its own destiny.

And yet, with the idea of an ad independent of its subject matter or of us, we enter a next-to-unimaginable realm. Certainly, the advertising industry itself, even as it conglomerates and globalizes at an incredible pace, never faintly pauses to consider the issue of its own nature, no less its potential for independent power. In some sense, ad people may be the last to realize how far the

ad has progressed on its own, the last to have anything other than a technical idea about where it and they are heading.

As they fret and fume in the pages of *Ad Age* about their perilous future, and face endless doubts about the ineffectiveness of the ad in doing what we imagine is most basic to its existence—persuading us of the desirability of the products our society has to offer—who can doubt the success of the ad enterprise as a whole? The ad shows every sign of being not at some hopeless saturation point, but at the near-beginning of its development as a different sort of force in our world, an enterprise with energy to spare, an energy that drives it ahead of all of us and deeper and deeper into what one might someday hesitate to call "our" lives. ■

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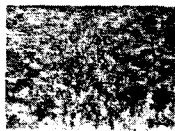
Tom Engelhardt is a senior editor at Pantheon Books.

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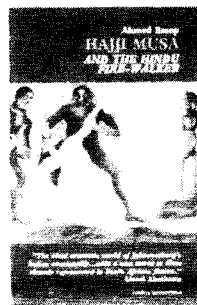
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Renewal Time
Series by
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Renewal Time (056)
by Es'kia Mphahlele
'Poignant and eloquently political' *Pub. Wkly*
'A haunting echo of Orwell' *Kirkus Reviews*



Hajji Musa and the Hindu Fire-Walker (052)
by Ahmed Essop
'Ironical, candid, and stringent,' says Nadine Gordimer



Fools (020)
by Njabulo Ndebele
'Convinces us of the genuineness of his vision in everything he writes' *N. Y. Times Book Review*

Read any *black* South Africans lately?

Brink, Coetzee, Gordimer, the late Alan Paton - each enlightens us on South Africa, but none would claim to speak for their black countrymen.

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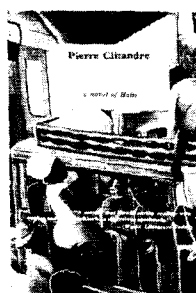
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ITT 25

Harrington

Continued from page 16

"the defeated remnant of a defeated remnant." Yet only with the coming of DSOC was Harrington able for the first time to exercise fully his potential for leadership on the American left. There was a cruel irony to the timing of DSOC's founding, however. Harrington's entire tenure as chairperson, first of DSOC, then of DSA, coincided with one of the most reactionary epochs in American history. In the great struggles of the '60s—in the civil rights movement (where he was an adviser to Martin Luther King Jr.) and the anti-war movement—he played a supporting role. But in constructing a post-'60s left he was absolutely central.

Come together: Harrington and DSOC, and then DSA, called for open socialist participation in the struggles of the mainstream left—for an American socialism that was both in and of the world. Electorally, this meant participation in the progressive wing of the Democratic Party. On this point, if few others, the Harrington strategy and that of his Cold War adversaries in the old

Socialist Party coincided. Where Mike parted company with them was on the centrality of a coalition politics. As early as 1967, while writing *Toward a Democratic Left*, Harrington proclaimed not simply the indispensability of organized workers to progressive change, but also its insufficiency. Changes in class structure and the rise of new social movements, he argued, mandated a coalition of the disparate forces on the democratic left if any progressive agenda was to be enacted.

To gauge how completely Harrington's arguments have influenced the politics of the broad left, it is useful to look back for a moment to 1973, the year of DSOC's founding. Each of the tribes of the American left was sulking in its own tent, the remnants of the New Left still scorning the corruptions of bourgeois politics, the New Politics liberals disdainful of labor and, as if to confirm their assessment, George Meany's AFL-CIO operatives determined to free the Democratic Party from its McGovern-McCarthy-Kennedy peacenik taint. And there was Michael Harrington, talking coalition.

At first, Harrington encountered passive assent: yes, there should be a post-Vietnam coalition, but no one was assembling it. By 1975 Harrington began the task of hammering together a left (but non-socialist) programmatic coalition in national Democratic Party politics. In its early years, the Democratic Agenda (as the project was known in its heyday) brought together the veterans of the '60s left with the institutions of the '30s left (the unions); it commingled for the first time such figures as Gloria Steinem, Ron Dellums and Sam Brown with the UAW's Doug Fraser and the Machinists'

William Winpisinger. Through Democratic Agenda, through DSOC's merger with the New American Movement, through argument and symbol, Mike worked to reintegrate what remained of New Left and Old. "No one has done more," former SDS president Todd Gitlin has written, "to heal the left's generational breach."

Saving the S-word: Part of Harrington's battle was to rescue "socialism" from one-party authoritarian regimes that had appropriated the term. Harrington's Marxism (and Harrington's Marx) was profoundly democratic and fundamental to the only politics he saw as capable of resisting the "unsocial socialization" that global capitalism was imposing on the planet. His writings on socialism were increasingly intertwined with his work in the Socialist International (SI) (whose newly adopted declaration of principles Mike authored). In a sense, Mike was the ideologue of the "Brandt turn" in the SI's direction: toward a greater emphasis on North-South relations and ecological concerns, and on developing the international institutions to counter the transnational economy.

He addressed himself, too, to the problem of the transition from capitalism to socialism. Socialism could not simply incubate in capitalism as capitalism had in feudalism, Mike argued; socialism advanced only through conscious democratic decision-making. His "visionary gradualism" required a mix of radicalism and patience, which may have been one of the few areas in which American socialists could school their European comrades. ("He was an American socialist," Harrington said last year in his eulogy of Paul DuBrul, "which

is to say, he knew that there were no easy victories, no final conflicts in his lifetime, that the struggle would go on and on.")

Where Mike found the time for all this—for 16 books, hundreds of articles, thousands of speeches, NPR radio commentary, teaching at the City University of New York and untold hours devoted to the highly unglamorous task of building and maintaining a socialist organization—is anybody's guess. Moreover, for Harrington, the cultivation of socialists and maintenance of decent human relations required socializing no less than socialism. He had a gift for affability not common among political leaders on the left.

Mike attributed energizing powers to the activist life. On the day his doctors told him he had inoperable cancer of the esophagus and only several months to live, he began work on the book that was to become his final reformulation and call to the socialist project, *Socialism: Past & Future*. Medical science and sheer will saw him through from its inception to its publication in July.

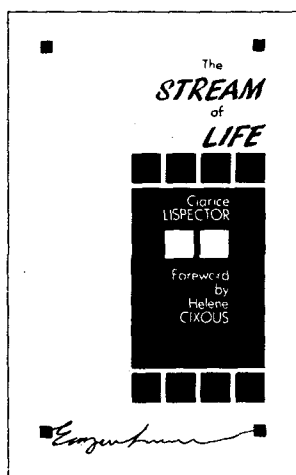
Harrington's last contact with the movement came on the Friday before his death, when DSA Director Pat Lacefield called Harrington's wife Stephanie to check in on Mike's condition. Stephanie took the call in the bedroom, where Mike lay with tubes providing oxygen and nourishment running down his throat. Speech was not impossible, but it was difficult. "Ask him if he has a message for us," Pat said. "He's raising a clenched fist," said Stephanie.

Harold Meyerson is executive editor of the *L.A. Weekly* and has been a member of the national executive committee, first of DSOC, then of DSA, since 1981.

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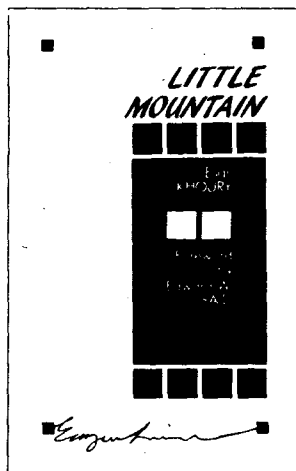
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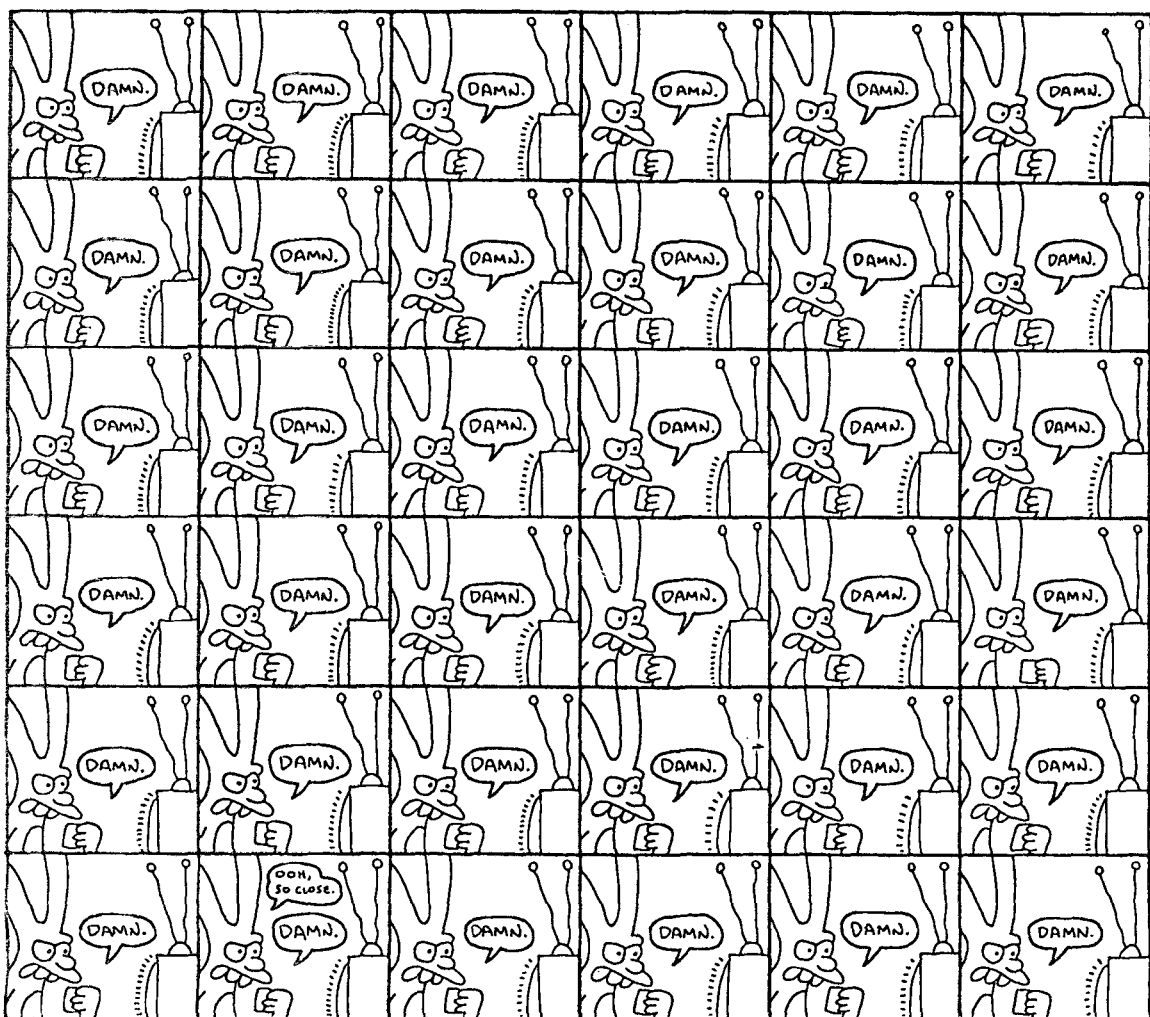
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SHOOTOUT

at the reality factory

By Doug Smith

It's six o'clock on a cool blustery spring morning. Outside a Winnipeg garment factory Canadian filmmaker Nettie Wild is handing out leaflets to the largely female, largely Filipino, early morning shift. She tells each worker, "There's a film about the Philippines you might want to see." She's been doing this every morning for the past week, hitting all of the major garment plants in the city. It is, to say the least, not the way most award-winning filmmakers conduct publicity tours.

But Wild, whose *A Rustling of Leaves: Inside the Philippine Revolution* won the Most Popular Film Award at the Berlin Film Festival's Forum of Young Cinema, is no ordinary filmmaker, and *A Rustling of Leaves* is no ordinary film. Shot over an eight-month period in 1987, it plunges viewers into the world of the Filipino left. From the New People's Army (NPA) in the mountains to a tension-filled senatorial campaign staged by the leaders of the legal left, Wild draws a taut and unromanticized portrait, one that does not shy away from the questions facing the left following the 1986 victory of Corazon Aquino. And through its examination of the death squads and the men who manipulate them, the picture underscores the physical dangers that the left still faces.

We bombed in Manila: The story behind the making of the film shows Wild's skills and tenacity. In the early '80s she was a founding member of Headlines Theatre, a political theater company based in Vancouver. One of their productions on disarmament dealt with a Canadian armament builder's decision to move his operations to the Philippines. Filipinos who saw the play told her

about the dynamic political theater movement in their homeland—and suggested she go there to check it out.

"One thing led to another," she says, "and I got invitations from theater companies who were doing protest theater in the streets against Marcos. I went down there and I worked with a theater company which was working with the sugar workers, and I was working with another one that was working with the slum areas of Manila. At that point I was approached to go up into the mountains to help participate in a creative dramatics workshop. The group performed a piece for the anniversary celebration of the New People's Army." The performance was bombed by the Armed Forces of the Philippines. "The ultimate criticism," jokes Wild, who then joined the 400 NPA members who were on the run for four days.

"We survived because the local people opened the mountains up, took us in and closed them down behind us. People can tell you they have the people's support, or the military can tell you that they don't until they

Filmmaker Nettie Wild fights her way from the Philippine outlands to North America's heartland.

are blue in the face, but how do you know? At that point the proof was in the pudding—I saw how our skins were saved, and it was really strong testament to a story that did not seem to be being covered. At that point I decided to go back to Canada and see if I could raise the money to make a film."

She did. But by the time she returned to the Philippines in 1986, the scene had changed dramatically. "Lo and behold, the Communists did not come bounding out of the mountains. Instead, the yellow army of Mrs. Aquino came along in their high-heeled shoes." Wild decided not to be the thousandth reporter to do the Cory story and put off shooting for a year.

Wild thinks the scenario facing the Philippine left will be repeated in other countries worldwide. "I think the Americans are going to be less and less likely to back the evil dictators. Instead they will be looking for the civilian, elected leader who lends a patina of democracy to the whole process. For the left the question, then, is what do you do?" The strength of Wild's film comes from its detailed examination of two options—the life of the NPA guerrillas, and the senatorial campaign waged by Bernabe Buscayno, who under the name Kummander Dante had been one of the founding members of the NPA.

To prevent the film from being written off as a work of naive propaganda, Wild said she thought it was important that the sequences with the NPA confront two particular issues. "One was the interior justice system and the people's courts. And I could not see going up and filming the revolutionary school and the land reform program and all that stuff and just saying, 'P.S., they are wearing their M-16s.' The bottom line was they were involved in an armed struggle, so we had to film a tactical offensive—for better or worse."

Peasant support: The people's court system is one of the most dramatic sections in the film. The guerrillas are forced to deal with a local youth who, under family pressure, defects and turns into an informer. The sequences reveal the brutality and the contradictions of a civil war and underline the film's unblinking integrity.

The willingness of the guerrillas to be filmed without any disguise has given Wild pause about having the film screened in the Philippines. George, one of the men who helped her gain access to the mountains, is now in a Manila prison. Yet he and other members of the NPA are eager to have the film shown. And while the death squads don't need to see any movies to know what the leaders of the Philippines revolution look like, there are many images of individual peasants and their families supporting the NPA. According to Wild, these scenes were shot after intense discussions. "They decided, with very few exceptions, that they really wanted to show people that it was ordinary farmers, not young 18-year-olds with M-16s."

Paradoxically, the scenes along the election trail are filmed with more tension than those in the mountains. By running for office, Kummander Dante angered many of his former comrades in arms, and at the same time turned himself into a moving target for the right. He's made this move because of his belief that the left must present a public face to the Philippine public. Near the end of the film he comments that for the moment the armed struggle is secondary. Despite this, his path is trailed by violence.

According to Wild, at one point during the campaign the jeep in front of Dante's backfired. "He hit the bottom of the jeep in a quarter of a second, and everybody laughed at him. Five weeks later he was ambushed, and he survived with five bullets in his back because he was on the floor of the car. All his companions were dead."

Through the story of Dante and of Father Ed de la Torre—a priest who like Dante was well acquainted with the Marcos prison system, Wild paints a picture of how some leftists have attempted to exploit the democratic space opened up by Aquino. But, as de la Torre notes, at times that space can be little more than the space between the bullets.



Kalasik Productions

Shooting script: Nettie Wild and an NPA guerrilla on the set of *A Rustling of Leaves*.

Continued on page 21